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# MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE



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MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY  
BALTIMORE

*March* • 1952



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# MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

VOL. XLVII, No. 1

MARCH, 1952

673940

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*Annual Subscriptions to the Magazine \$4.00. Each issue \$1.00. The Magazine assumes no responsibility for statements or opinions expressed in its pages.*

FRED SHELLEY, *Editor*

FRANCIS C. HABER, *Associate Editor*

The Magazine is entered as second class matter, at the post office at Baltimore, Maryland, under Act of August 24, 1912.

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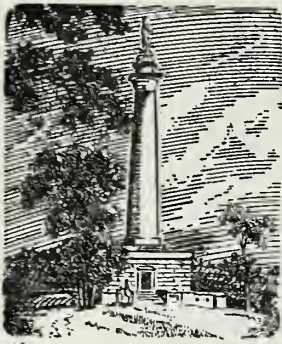
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2. Preservation of these materials for the benefit of all who care to enjoy them, and exhibition of items which will encourage an understanding of State and National history; and
3. Spread of historical information relating to Maryland and the rest of the country by means of addresses at the Society's home by authorities in various fields; addresses to outside groups by officers and staff of the Society; publication of the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, a quarterly containing original articles about State history; *Maryland History Notes*, a quarterly bulletin of news of the Society and other local historical items, and of the *Archives of Maryland* under the authority of the State.

The annual dues of the Society are \$5.00, life membership \$100.00. Subscription to the *Magazine* and to the quarterly news bulletin, *Maryland History Notes*, is included in the membership fee as well as use of the collections and admission to the lectures. The library, portrait gallery and museum rooms, are open daily except Sunday, 9 to 5, Saturday, 9 to 4. *June 15 to Sept. 15*, daily 9 to 4, Saturday, 9 to 2.



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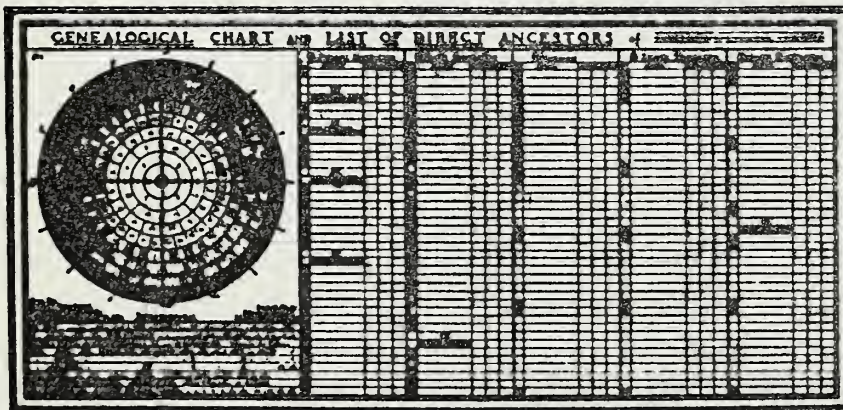
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KONIG GOBLET ACQUIRED BY THE SOCIETY 1952

Made by Amelung at the New Bremen Factory.

*Photo Courtesy Corning Museum of Glass*



# MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

*A Quarterly*

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Volume XLVII

MARCH, 1952

Number 1

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## AMELUNG AND HIS NEW BREMEN GLASS WARES

By HARRIET N. MILFORD

IN the troubled period immediately following the Revolution Maryland, in common with the rest of the new world, was not always kind to those who pioneered within her borders. Many saw failure of their highest hopes, yet there were those who left behind them work that was to shed glory on the land where those hopes were shattered beyond repair. Such was the fate of John Frederick Amelung, son of old Germany, who, at the age of 44, landed in the port of Baltimore in 1784, to establish his "glass-manufactory" in the new republic. Ten miles from Frederick he established the New Bremen Glass Manufactory on the banks of Bennett's Creek. This plant operated with varying success for a decade. When his business failed Amelung went to live with his son-in-law, Peter Volckman, on Bank Street in Baltimore, where he died soon afterward.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The origin of the plant was described in Amelung's pamphlet, *Remarks on Manufactures, Principally on the New Established Glass-House near Frederick-*

Amelung was almost forgotten. His famous presentation pieces remained unknown for more than a century except in a few families who valued them as heirlooms without realizing their historical importance. Recent attention to Amelung resulted from the acquisition of the Bremen pokal in 1928 by the Metropolitan Museum of Art. This large covered drinking vessel, shaped like a goblet, was found in Bremen, Germany.<sup>2</sup> This piece is clear with a greenish cast in the thicker portions. The knopped and inverted baluster stem supports a large semi-oviform bowl. The domed foot with broad base gives the whole an appearance of perfect balance. The inverted baluster on the stem and the finial atop the cover are similar in shape and each has the air bubble or tear. On the obverse, or front, above the arms of the City of Bremen is inscribed, "Old Bremen Success and the New Progress."<sup>3</sup> The copper wheel engraving of the central motif with its artfully designed embellishments was undoubtedly the work of a master craftsman. The reverse has the words and date which must have thrilled the discoverer of this unique piece, "New Bremen Glass Manufactory 1788—North America, State of Maryland." Thus intense interest in Amelung was first aroused among students of early American glass. Libraries were searched anew, history conned, museums, collectors and dealers set on the trail for more of these treasures. While some reasoned that the goblet might have been made in Bremen, Germany, for presentation to the Maryland factory, most students concluded that it was made at New Bremen.

The Ghequière covered flip was the second wheel engraved and inscribed piece to attract the attention of the experts. It had been lent for exhibition at the Baltimore Museum of Art by Dr.

*Town in the State of Maryland*, 1787. For a general account see Dorothy M. Quynn, "Johann Friedrich Amelung at New Bremen," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XLIII (September, 1948), 155-179. Occasional articles about glass have been printed in the *Magazine Antiques*, the *Antiquarian* and the *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*. The books of George S. and Helen McKearin, *American Glass* (New York, 1941) and *Two Hundred Years of American Blown Glass* (New York, 1950) give much reliable data on Amelung and his wares.

The Maryland Historical Society has arranged an exhibition of early American glass in which the products of New Bremen are featured. It opened March 11 and will continue through May 31—EDITOR.

<sup>2</sup> Announcement of this acquisition was made in the *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum* for June, 1928 (Vol. 23) pages 166-167. It was further reported in the *Antiquarian* for December, 1930 (Vol. 15) pages 58-60.

<sup>3</sup> A toast is implied. The sense seems to be "Success to Old Bremen and Progress to New Bremen."

Charles G. Fenwick who inherited it from his great grandfather Charles Ghequière. It was an original presentation piece and unquestionably was produced at Amelung's plant. Aside from the beauty and importance of this piece, it also proved the authenticity of the Bremen pokal.<sup>4</sup>

All doubts of the skeptical vanished. Students agreed that, so far as is known, the inscribed presentation glass from the New Bremen Glass Manufactory merited acclaim for two firsts:

- (1) the first inscribed pieces made in the United States by any factory, and
- (2) the first copper wheel engraving, worthy of the name, in America.

Amelung's fame began to spread — slowly and steadily, beyond the first small circle that had been searching for additional facts to reveal the true story of this man and his enterprise. These authenticated products of New Bremen may do as much for Maryland's fame as Stiegel's beautiful glass did for Pennsylvania's. As yet only four or five of America's leading museums and historical societies own any of these treasures.

The König goblet now exhibited by the Maryland Historical Society, which has just acquired it as the gift of interested members, is a typical Amelung piece. The height is  $7\frac{3}{4}$  inches, width  $4\frac{1}{8}$  inches. The symmetry of the bowl and the balance between bowl and base are apparent in the photograph. The high dome of the base as well as its width are characteristic of Amelung pieces. The color is a slight smoky gray, usually found in authentic pieces. The fine craftsmanship of the wheel engraving may be seen in the picture. It consists of conventional scrolls, florets and foliage, ending on one side in a bearded head of wheat. These devices duplicate those in several other Amelung pieces, though the pattern as a whole is different. In fact, no two engraved Amelung patterns, so far discovered, are identical.

In the center of the garland is the name "A. König," for

<sup>4</sup> A flip is shaped like a tumbler and varies in size from a pint to a half-gallon. The Ghequière piece is now in the du Pont Museum at Winterthur, near Wilmington, Delaware. It is described as being  $12\frac{1}{2}$  inches tall and in some parts of a smoky hue. On the front there is an elaborate wreath enclosing the name "Charles Ghequière" and near the top the words "Floreat Commertium" ("May Commerce Flourish"). The reverse is engraved "New Bremen Glassmanufactory, the 20th June, 1788." The slightly domed top is encircled by an engraved wreath and has the characteristic Amelung finial and tear.



August König, great great grandfather of Mrs. Edmond H. Morse (Ethel Luisa Dannenberg) of Baltimore from whom the goblet was acquired. August König is listed as a merchant in the Baltimore directory of 1796 and in the succeeding issues (1799 and 1800) as a toy or "Noriemburga ware merchant."<sup>5</sup> Whether König was a friend or business associate of the glass maker is not known. Undoubtedly, as a member of the close-knit German colony in Baltimore at this time, he would have known Amelung. The goblet was most probably a presentation piece from the Amelungs or possibly made by them on order of König's family. It was inherited by Mrs. Morse through her father, Frederick Koenig Dannenberg (II) his father, Frederick Koenig Dannenberg (I) and the latter's mother, Dorothea König Dannenberg, daughter of August König. The König goblet is the only known piece from New Bremen that is owned by a Maryland museum.

Some years ago, while in a small antique shop near Washington, I was casually examining an odd looking bottle. The dealer, noting my interest, remarked, "That's Amelung." "What is Amelung?" There! Without realizing it, I had asked the question that has consumed an ever-increasing amount of my interest and time these past twenty years.

In Frederick a few months later, I thought of looking for the plant. After making many inquiries and receiving as many different directions, I finally found the road that led to the side road, that led to the lane, that led to the bottom of a long hill — and to what was left of the village of New Bremen.

It was a beautiful fall day. As I stood gazing about, the place seemed to come to life. There was no Gray or Goldsmith to describe the scene, but those who like old places, old things, know the nostalgic feeling that came over me.

Amelung had located his plant where the lovely little Bennett's Creek valley widens to a meadow. The village was laid out German fashion, with the houses perched along the main thoroughfare called Fleecydale.<sup>6</sup> Only a few cellar holes remained. I revisited the place at long intervals. For some years the search

<sup>5</sup> Presumably the compiler of the directory meant *Nuremberger* ware, that is, merchandise imported from the city of Nuremberg, Germany, especially toys and novelties.

<sup>6</sup> On a land plat owned by Mr. Harry D. Shankle, of Buckeystown, Md., the Fleecydale road is shown as a recognized thoroughfare. Fleecydale was also taken as its name by a Masonic Lodge which flourished at New Bremen. Information from Mr. Raymond H. Bussard, of Frederick, Md.



for glass was casual, more like an excuse to visit a loved spot. Surface search and shallow excavating with a trowel produced interesting cullet and tailings, most of it in the common green. From this I progressed to an interest in colored fragments. Finding a few bits of blue or amethyst was reward enough for a long day's work. Then I read a book, *Early American Glass*, by Rhea Mansfield Knittle, published in 1927. There was a whole chapter on the New Bremen glass house. This forward-looking writer dared to predict that many of the richly colored specimens attributed to Stiegel were probably made at the Maryland factory.

My excitement grew. Now there was a purpose in the search. The trowel gave way to the spade. Sullivan, who doubled at home as cook, was an enthusiastic wielder of the mattock and pick. We found rich color in quantity — Stiegel blues that looked purple where the glass thickens, amber in many shades, amethyst so dense that it only showed color around the edges when chipped off in thin sheets — all of these in a wide range of shades. The fiery opalescent was found in sufficient quantity to convince us that it was an Amelung product and not an accident of too much lime or soda in the batch. The range of greens in coarse and fine quality was astounding — citron, olive, jade, yellow, green, streaked with magenta, puce, pale amethyst, pinkish amethyst, amber, and many others too numerous to describe.

The cullet showed interesting patterns. Ambition grew — we must go deeper. There was a waste dump with trees growing from the center. We reasoned that this might be the foundation of the first ovens. If we could get below the two large trees, we might find proof of much we suspected. Our objective now was to locate the site of both plants, to find some moulds as well as engraved glass. We hesitated to use a bulldozer; however, there seemed no other practical way. Armed with permission from the owners of the fields and private road, we arrived with a bulldozer.<sup>6a</sup> The trees came up, albeit with great reluctance. We spot tested by hand below the tree roots. There had been an extensive fire. The site appeared to be that of the original building. Tree roots had grown through the crevices of charred wood and slag. Broken pots showed evidence of having been full of a good quality of molten metal when the disaster occurred.

<sup>6a</sup> Without the kind cooperation of Mr. Charles Smith and Mr. Yingling, we could not have proceeded.

We found no clear engraved flint and no moulds (though there was a quantity of iron and nails). It was very frustrating. By now I hoped to contribute some new proof in the way of varied engraved designs as well as blown and expanded patterns — evidence to substantiate the claims, or rather, hopes of those who owned interesting decanters, celery vases, flips and such. I had to content myself with arranging exhibits of the fragments for various museums and historical organizations. It seemed the only way to preserve these for posterity. I remembered the inaccessibility of the remaining Stiegel fragments to the rank and file collector.

The following year Sullivan was digging near a location that had not yielded fragments before. He called me to see what he had struck. It was a sizable cache of pot clay evidently prepared and never used. It seemed unimportant, but we spied a bit of glass. It was engraved. There was more, some with plain panels, wines with engraved swags and tassels, bow knots and that characteristic flower Amelung's artisans favored for the presentation pieces. The most meticulous archaeologist could not have criticized our tender treatment of that clay. We dissolved it in water bit by bit till the tiniest pieces of cullet were extracted. There was very little of this treasure. Here is the place to say I had found fragments of a wine glass in the foundation of one of the houses. The pattern was wheel engraved, but I doubted its being cullet from the glass works. Except for scratches it showed little signs of oxidization or earth stains. Being in the crevices of loosened foundation stones might account for this. Another similar find and the fragments imbedded in the clay convinced me none of these can be labeled "picnic glass."<sup>7</sup>

Another waste dump below the road has also yielded quantities of interesting cullet — diamond quilted patterns, diamond cut wine stems, plain cut wine stems, solid wine and goblet stems, some cotton stems, folded rims in clear, green, blue, and amethyst, for large bowls, goblets and wines; bases of tumblers in several sizes, bases of jars and pitchers, rims folded, welted, scalloped, and plain, in various sizes and colors, folded or turned feet in blue, green and clear in various sizes, interesting finials, patterns in ogival, vertical, ribbed, panel and other designs.

<sup>7</sup> By this I mean glass thrown away by hunters, fishermen or picnic parties at any time after the plant closed.

All through the excavations the story of Amelung's struggle to produce the brilliant clear glass is plain to see. The deep smoky ore gives way to black streaked, clear and smoky, then off-tones of faint smoky purple and muddy pink. Then, in small quantities, the brilliant clear — proof that Amelung achieved his goal.<sup>8</sup>

What of the chemical make-up of Amelung's product? Owners may well ask whether science can determine differences between it and other glass. There were only two types of metal (lead and non-lead) for making glass in early times. The best tests today are the fluorescent and the acid methods, but they are not conclusive. Heretofore experts have stated that all Amelung glass is non-lead, that is, the soda-lime type.<sup>9</sup> By the methods named above the fragments we have taken from 4 to 12 feet below the surface at New Bremen are sometimes lead, more often non-lead. Fluorescent tests of known Amelung pieces have usually confirmed the non-lead claim.<sup>10</sup>

Altogether there are now nearly twenty pieces that are conceded by experts to be from the Amelung works at New Bremen. Most of these will be included in the Historical Society's spring exhibition — the largest group that has yet been brought together. Thus a clearer picture of Amelung glass will no doubt be seen. It is hoped that Maryland housewives will re-examine pieces that they have inherited and perhaps discover additional examples.

At all events, we have abundant evidence of the varied kinds of glasswares being manufactured at New Bremen. Amelung in 1787 published a pamphlet, entitled *Remarks on Manufactures, Principally on the New Established Glass House near Frederick-Town in the State of Maryland*, which was intended as a plea for a protective tariff on glass. In the back of the only known copy of this pamphlet Amelung in 1790 wrote:

This Pamphlet was published 2 Years after my Arrival. Since that time a great [deal] of Alterations happened and a Capital of 7 to 8000 £ more

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<sup>8</sup> It is easy to imagine the concern of those responsible for the formulas in trying to get rid of the grayish tint and achieve clear glass to match that imported from Europe. To win wealthy patronage a crystal clarity was required.

<sup>9</sup> For full description of glass manufacture in the 18th century see McKearin, *American Glass*, Chapter 2.

<sup>10</sup> Mr. Donald Hubbard of the U. S. Bureau of Standards informs me that a new method of testing glass is being perfected. Although it is merely a proposed method and has not been tested, it is described as a spectrochemical procedure which will yield a non-destructive chemical analysis. Research on this project has been postponed indefinitely because of the national defense program.



expended. Yet the Value of the Manufactory has increased 3 times this sum, not only in regard to the Number of the People, as also in making all sorts of Glass Ware and which is increasing every day.

I also have purchased one Thousand Acres of Land more and erected another new Glass House on the Spot, all of which is paid.

The quality of my Glass is coming to perfection from degree to degree, almost every Month, owing to the experience I have acquired since these 6 years past which enabled me to be better acquainted with the materials here, consequently making a better use of it then [sic] in the beginning, and therefore do not in the least doubt if a moderate Assistance should [be] given me, the glass made here will exceed the Imported in a Short Time. At the same [time?] wi[ll] be soon known more from Boston to Charlestown in Carolina.

Joh Fr. Amelung

Jun. [?] 1790.<sup>11</sup>

Advertisements of the period in the Baltimore newspapers under Amelung's name offer not only window glass, tumblers, and wine glasses, but also decanters and "any sort of table glass. He also cuts devices, cyphers, coats of arms, or any other fancy figures on glass, and in time hopes to be able to furnish looking-glass of all sizes."<sup>12</sup>

He further states that he has established a warehouse in Frederick for the sale of glass and has appointed Abraham Faw as his manager there.

Through the influence of friends such as Charles Carroll of Carrollton, the Maryland legislature in 1788 granted Amelung a loan of £1,000 and a tax exemption for five years.<sup>13</sup> When fire swept through Amelung's manufactory shortly afterwards, the legislature also granted an extension in the dates of the loan repayment.<sup>14</sup> In the meantime the new Federal Congress was considering its first protective tariff act. Elias Boudinot of New Jersey and Daniel Carroll of Maryland were quick to note the

<sup>11</sup> The pamphlet is known to have been in the Boston Athenaeum Library since 1831. From it and from abundant evidence elsewhere it is obvious that Amelung was a cultivated man of the world. He was not a glassblower or operator of any kind, but the business head and proprietor, possibly the designer.

<sup>12</sup> Account books of John and Samuel Davidson, merchants of Annapolis, in the Society's library show twelve purchases of glass from Amelung between May, 1787, and February, 1791, including two entries in 1790 which seem to show indebtedness to Charles Carroll (of Carrollton?) for "assorted glass" from Amelung. The total amount of purchases for the four years was £591. The Carroll entries together came to £254. The meager descriptions include "Sugar dishes £3. 7s," "3 cases hollow glass £10 10s," many boxes listed only as "glass," "21½ barrels white glass" besides boxes of "window glass."

<sup>13</sup> *Laws of Maryland*, May session, 1788, ch. VII.

<sup>14</sup> *Laws of Maryland*, November session, 1790 (Resolution.)



omission of glass among the dutiable articles. When the Act was passed in 1789, it included a duty on glass which, on a long term basis, would have been beneficial to Amelung, but his losses by fire made immediate financial assistance imperative. He therefore, petitioned Congress for aid in 1790. A Senate committee reported favorably on a secured loan not exceeding \$8,000 for Amelung, but the House did not concur and Amelung's appeals to the federal government came to naught.<sup>15</sup>

Many reasons have been advanced for the failure of the New Bremen plant — lack of patronage, disastrous fire, economic crisis. Although he raised £10,000 in Bremen, supplemented by American subscriptions of £11,000 to £12,000, he had to support for more than a year his original company of 68 artisans and their families. There can be no denying that Amelung as the head of a great enterprise had expansive ideas for the time, in addition to his vision of an ideal community. His home, Montevino, was built on a large scale and adorned with fine paneling. His school masters and dancing masters suggest a seignorial outlook. Perhaps he hoped for a wealthy patron. Even more likely, he hoped for a thriving business resulting from American demand for his entire production. Continued appeals to the Government went unheeded. Amelung was obliged to create mortgages and make personal loans which only hastened the end.

The taking of great risks was almost universal. Shipping merchants, manufacturers and commercial houses all felt the uncertainty of the times, the weakness of the new Government and the risky nature of their operations.

It is rewarding to pursue a theory and prove it a fact. We have taken approximately 18,000 fragments from the ground to depths ranging from the surface to fourteen feet and in all this lot we have found an infinitesimal percentage of wheel-engraved lead and non-lead metal. Until proof to the contrary is found it seems likely that Amelung made very little lead glass and most of that near to the close of the plant.

We are mindful of the many undisclosed facts of Amelung's life in America, — of Stiegel, Bamper, Wistar and many others who as late as 1900 were barely a name to the small band of glass students.

<sup>15</sup> *Annals of Congress*, 1st Congress, 2nd session, pp. 1629-1632, June 3, 1790.

A word of caution to the inexperienced collector might not be amiss. The large number of wheel engraved decanters, celeries, pitchers, and bowls attributed to Amelung could more likely have been made at a later period. Some types were made abroad, indeed the tassel and swag pattern I found at New Bremen was made in England and Ireland as well as at our own Pittsburgh. This and other engraved designs are believed to have reached Pittsburgh via Amelung's artisans when the Maryland plant closed. There is a vast difference between a piece with many of the characteristics of Amelung but lacking date, inscription, or a name to trace its pedigree, and an inscribed and dated piece. It is safer to speak of the former as Amelung type.<sup>16</sup>

Amelung left more to posterity than his glass. Today his products are admired for their fine quality. It is the rarity of authenticated Amelung glass that has caused the fabulous prices for such pieces. The intrinsic beauty of design, the delicacy and exquisite nature of the engraving have been the inspiration of leading designers who have incorporated in their fine patterns such typical Amelung features as the domed foot, the folded or turned foot, the knopped stem, and the contours characteristic of Amelung.

Little by little, by patient research and healthy controversy (and the pursuit of theories) we have a clearer picture of the early glass industry. Who knows from what half forgotten diary or bundle of letters may come facts that we so fervently wish to know — the last chapter in a long-continued story. For many of the details of Amelung's great Maryland venture we must await further discoveries and future research. The man built his monument of glass — but glass that bids fair to outlast many another made of marble.

<sup>16</sup> The genuine pieces by Amelung have been authenticated by (a) inscriptions on the glass itself, (b) by contemporary records identifying the piece and (c) characteristics in the glass itself identical with those of proven pieces.

# THE GREAT BALTIMORE WHIG CONVENTION OF 1840

By ROBERT GRAY GUNDERSON

AT daylight on Monday, May 4, 1840, the roar of cannon awakened "the young men of half a Continent," who, according to the testimony of *The Log Cabin Advocate*,<sup>1</sup> had assembled in Baltimore to honor William Henry Harrison and John Tyler, Whig standard-bearers in the Log-Cabin and Hard-Cider Campaign.<sup>2</sup> In the grandiloquent language of the president of the convention, "Every mountain sent its rill—every valley its stream—and lo! The Avalanche of the People is here!"

Since December when William Henry Harrison was nominated for the presidency at Harrisburg, his Whig supporters had been preparing for this great ratification meeting. A local committee of arrangements, it was announced, had made preparations for entertaining the gathering "upon a scale corresponding with its national character." A series of 48 orders were published to regulate the conduct of events; a chief marshal and 101 assistant marshals, resplendent in black silk hats, dress coats, and white pantaloons, had been trained to maintain order; and local engraving firms had printed an ample supply of handsomely embossed badges with Whig mottoes appropriate to the occasion. In the streets, the *Baltimore Patriot* reported, there was "an army of banners."

<sup>1</sup> *The Log Cabin Advocate* (Baltimore), May 9, 1840.

<sup>2</sup> The symbols of the log cabin and hard cider in the campaign of 1840 resulted from the chance remark of a Whig who was disappointed in the nomination of Harrison and suggested that if the Hero of Tippecanoe were given a pension and barrel of hard cider he would retire to his log cabin and forget about the presidency. The Democrats tried to exploit the remark as an admission of Harrison's mediocrity, but the Whigs cleverly turned it into a proof of their candidate's democratic background. The result was that the Whigs, spiritual descendants of Hamiltonian-Federalism, stole the thunder of the Jacksonian Democrats whose candidate, President Martin Van Buren, was pictured as a gilded aristocrat.

The *Sun* and *American* refer to the gathering as "The Young Men's National Convention."



The entrance to the convention grounds had been "embellished with a triumphant arch surmounted with the American flag and festooned with laurels." A pavilion had been built to provide reserved seats for ladies and visiting clergy. Baltimore editors had proffered the hospitality of every Whig home in the city and warned delegates "to look out for pickpockets."<sup>3</sup> The Congress of the United States voted to recess during the proceedings; and Millard Fillmore had persuaded Boss Thurlow Weed of New York to send an impressive Empire-State delegation. "I think this important," Representative Fillmore observed cryptically, "the steam must be kept up."<sup>4</sup>

All this display was a new departure for the normally sedate and aristocratic Whigs, who for the first time, adapted their campaign to the political realities of an expanding suffrage, as the Jacksonians had done in 1832. The conservatives at last realized that political events could no longer be controlled merely through caucuses in paneled drawing rooms. An appeal had to be made to His Majesty, the Voter. Consequently, newspapers with limited circulation were supplanted by the penny press; and polite, argumentative oratory before genteel audiences gave way to the rough-and-tumble speaking of the stump. Thus the noisy campaign of cabins, coons, and cider heralded the rise of the common man in politics. As one Whig leader observed, "Some men of the highest culture did not disdain at times to 'go down to the people.'"<sup>5</sup> Despite their eagerness to oust Martin Van Buren from the presidency, conservatives of the aristocratic tradition like John Quincy Adams viewed the new departure with alarm; but many people, incensed by the hard times that followed the Panic of 1837, eagerly stopped work to march in parades, listen to oratory, and sing campaign songs about Tippecanoe and Tyler too.

Newspapers gave varying accounts of the number who responded to the trumpet blast which announced the formation of Baltimore's "Grand National Procession." Democratic papers estimated as few as 8,000 in the line of march, while Whig papers boasted as many as 25,000—with another 100,000 spectators mill-

<sup>3</sup> *Baltimore Sun*, April 30, May 4, 5, 1840; *The Log Cabin Advocate*, April 25, May 2, 1840; *Baltimore Republican*, May 1, 1840.

<sup>4</sup> Millard Fillmore to Thurlow Weed, April 4, 1840, Frank H. Severance (ed.), *Millard Fillmore Papers* (2 vols., Buffalo, 1907), II, 209.

<sup>5</sup> Richard Smith Elliott, *Notes Taken in Sixty Years* (St. Louis, 1883), p. 127.

ing about the parade area.<sup>6</sup> A president, 26 vice-presidents, and 25 secretaries were required to administer the gathering, which claimed delegates from 21 states. Participants found no dearth of hard cider in the Monumental City, and the politically neutral *Baltimore Sun* noted that all "appeared to be in high spirits." "A heavy rain," reported the *Sun*, "rendered the air cool and exhilarating." Baltimore stores closed for the occasion, and a "large concourse filled the streets, and crowded roofs and balconies" all along the route to the Canton Race Track, scene of the oratorical festivities.<sup>7</sup> The *Sun* testified that it was "a spectacle such as has seldom, if ever before, been seen in Baltimore," while the more partisan *Patriot* exclaimed that "nothing was wanting—nothing left to be desired—the cup of human joy was full."<sup>8</sup>

At 9:30, a discharge of cannon proclaimed that the procession was about to move, headed by an open carriage and three pieces of artillery salvaged from the Revolutionary War. Distinguished guests of the day rode in nine open barouches behind the marshals. Included in the first barouche were the Mayor of Baltimore, S. C. Leakin, and the Senator from Massachusetts, Daniel Webster. Critical Van Burenites noted the absence of Henry Clay from the procession, and speculated that he had refused to ride with Mr. Webster. The *Baltimore Republican* reported that Reverdy Johnson "conducted Clay from Barnum's [Hotel] through his own back yard . . . [and] conveyed the Mill Boy to the race course . . . in his own carriage."<sup>9</sup> "Did the Kentucky Senator decline a station in the pageant because the precedence . . . was given to Mr. Webster?" asked the *Washington Globe*. "Or did he refuse to lend himself as a part of the ostentation in a Harrison

<sup>6</sup> *Baltimore Republican*, May 19, 1840; *National Intelligencer* (Washington), May 5, 1840; *Cleveland Axe*, May 14, 1840.

<sup>7</sup> The marshals were asked to report at 7:30 A. M., and the delegates were to line up on Cove (now Fremont), Pine, Greene, Paca, and Baltimore Streets at 8:00 A. M.

"The Procession will move down Baltimore street to Caroline street, down Caroline street to Bank street—out Bank street to Market street [now Broadway] (F[ell's]. P[oint].)—down Market street to Fleet—out Fleet street to Canton [near Boston and Clinton],—the place of the meeting." *American*, May 4, 1840, p. 2.

A lithograph picturing the race course and this convention is reproduced in *Canton Days* (Baltimore, 1928), p. 19.

<sup>8</sup> *Baltimore Sun*, May 5, 1840; *Baltimore Patriot* [n. d.] quoted in *Niles' Register* (Baltimore), May 9, 1840.

<sup>9</sup> *Baltimore Republican*, May 11, 1840.

parade?"<sup>10</sup> Whigs wasted little time on such questions, however, for stirring bands of music and three full miles of pageantry quickly diverted their attention from the possibility of an ominous split in their party.

The procession was an hour and a quarter passing a given point, and according to the *National Intelligencer*, "the broad-cloth coat and the hunting shirt were seen arm in arm" throughout the line of march. One Whig banner, "WE STOOP TO CONQUER," epitomized a Whig spirit of condescension which Democrats were quick to note. To the *Ohio Statesman*, for example, this "insulting motto" of "city dandlings" and "starched-wasp-waisted demagogues" was "a disgrace to the cunning hypocrites" who were leading "the innocent and unsuspecting into a snare" baited by log cabins and hard cider.<sup>11</sup> Whigs provided a lavish bait, indeed, at Baltimore. Eight mobile log-cabin floats testified to the humble origins of the Whig candidate. The hard-fisted delegation from Baltimore County rode in a cabin drawn by six splendid white horses. Smoke ascending from the cabin led observers to deduce that a squirrel was being roasted inside, and a reporter for the *Patriot* noticed that members of the delegation occasionally "refreshed themselves from the barrel of hard cider which stood in front of the cabin door." A banner heralding "TIP, TYLER, AND THE TARIFF" whipped about wildly in the brisk northwest wind. Fayette and Green county (Pennsylvania) delegations had traveled for several days in their cabin which was "decorated with the skins of every kind of 'varmint,' buck's horns, implements of husbandry, and evergreens." The discerning reporter for the *Patriot* again noted that it was "bounteously furnished with that inseparable appendage (hard cider) both within and without."<sup>12</sup>

A novel feature of the parade was the huge Harrison parade ball which had been rolled all the way from Allegany County. Henry Clay, in the vernacular of 1840, pronounced this ball, "Lion of the Day." Mottoes and couplets on the ball forecast the downfall of Martin Van Buren and extolled the praises of Harrison, the Cincinnatus from North Bend. Paraders chanted the inscriptions:

<sup>10</sup> Washington *Globe*, May 5, 1840.

<sup>11</sup> *Ohio Statesman* (Columbus), November 24, 1840.

<sup>12</sup> Baltimore *Patriot* [n. d.] quoted in *Niles' Register*, May 9, 1840.



Farewell, dear Van  
 You're not our man;  
 To guide the ship  
 We'll try Old Tip.

One tireless spectator counted a thousand banners—each flaunting a Whig slogan. As Horace Greeley modestly admitted, the Whigs “were far ahead of the Democrats in singing, and in electioneering emblems which appealed to popular sympathies.”<sup>13</sup> Whig slogans demonstrated that Harrisonites appreciated the rhetorical effect of contrast and the persuasive value of appealing to basic wants. “MATTY’S POLICY,” they proclaimed: “FIFTY CENTS A DAY AND FRENCH SOUP! OUR POLICY: TWO DOLLARS A DAY AND ROAST BEEF!”

Whig women took an unusually conspicuous—but passive—role in the mummary of their men. As the procession moved down Caroline street to Bank and out Bank to Market, the reporter for the *Patriot* observed that “graceful forms leaned eagerly forward from every window and balcony.”<sup>14</sup> Not insensible to these charms, the gallant Republicans admitted that “women are the very life and soul of these movements of the people.” Whigs everywhere were singing:

The beautiful girls, God bless their souls, souls, souls,  
 The country through,  
 Will all, to a man, do all they can  
 For Tippecanoe and Tyler too.

“From Maine to New Orleans,” proclaimed one Whig paper, “our mothers, sisters, and daughters are now, as in the days of the Revolution, all Whig. Loco-Focoism and Fanny Wrightism find no response from them.”<sup>15</sup>

Delegates became particularly noisy as the procession passed near Music Hall,<sup>16</sup> where 248 Democrats were quietly assembled to go about the melancholy business of re-nominating the rather colorless Martin Van Buren. In the imagery of one Whig caricature: “A Fox Replaced the Lion, Jackson.” Democratic orators

<sup>13</sup> Horace Greeley, *Recollections of a Busy Life* (New York, 1868), p. 134.

<sup>14</sup> The full route is given in Note 7.

<sup>15</sup> *Cleveland Axe*, August 27, 1840.

<sup>16</sup> The Assembly Rooms, a classical structure which stood at the corner of Holliday and Fayette streets. See *Picture of Baltimore* (Baltimore, F. Lucas, Jr., 1832), pp. 191-192.

did not deign to interrupt their speechmaking, which continued in its interminable dullness, as Whig parade chants echoed through windows: "Van, Van, Van,—Van's a Used Up Man."

Once the procession was within the arch at the Canton Race Track, an oratorical marathon began. Seven major speeches consumed the daylight hours. After an address by the President of the Convention, John V. L. McMahon,<sup>17</sup> in which the Whigs were proclaimed the "Log-Cabin Party," Henry Clay arose to compare the gale which blew from the northwest to the popular voice of the assembled multitude. "This is no time to argue," shouted Clay to the 25,000 cider-soaked Whigs before him. "The time for discussion is passed. . . . We are all Whigs—we are all Harrison men. We are *united*. We must triumph."

Kentucky's dashing Senator was succeeded by the godlike Daniel Webster, who was forced to begin with an apology. "The attempt to make himself heard," he feared, "would be a vain one." Nevertheless, Webster felt compelled to exhort those within his hearing to demand a change of national policy. "The time has come," he announced, "when the cry is change. Every breeze says change,—Every interest of the country demands it. . . . We have fallen, gentlemen, upon *hard times*, and the remedy seems to be HARD CIDER." John Sergeant of Pennsylvania followed Webster and asked that "they bring back to the people, through the log cabins of the country, the neglected and lost Constitution." William C. Preston of South Carolina urged them "to wash the ermine and purify the seats of government." Henry A. Wise of Virginia protested that he could not possibly address 25,000 people in the open air. "I have worn out the best pair of lungs Heaven ever gave so narrow a chest," he shouted hoarsely, "in exposing and denouncing the corruption of our iniquitous Van Buren Administration."<sup>18</sup>

At last, darkness called a temporary halt to the speechmaking, and the crowd returned to Baltimore for the evening festivities. After delegates had hurriedly consumed their evening meal, thir-

<sup>17</sup> McMahon (1800-1871), lawyer and historian, was born in Cumberland. He represented Allegany County and later Baltimore in the State assembly. Subsequently he declined nominations to seats in the House of Representatives and Senate and refused appointments in the Harrison and Tyler cabinets. He was the author of *Historical View of the Government of Maryland* (1831) and was elected the first vice-president of the Maryland Historical Society.

<sup>18</sup> *National Intelligencer*, May 5, 1840; *Cleveland Axe*, May 14, 1840; *Albany Rough Hewer*, June 18, 1840.

teen more long speeches (and numerous shorter ones) were declaimed from two different speaking stands at Monument Square by such orators as Hugh S. Legaré, John J. Crittenden, Ogden Hoffman, Leverett Saltonstall, Caleb Cushing, and "other distinguished gentlemen." Henry Clay, Daniel Webster, and William J. Graves honored the crowd with repeat performances. Unimpressed by Whig laryngeal stamina, the *Democratic Republican* told its readers that Whig spokesmen were "men so delicate that they . . . required a silk umbrella to protect them from the rays of the sun and the dews of evening."<sup>19</sup>

On Tuesday, May fifth, the oratorical bedlam began again and continued until eleven in the evening, when at last the convention adjourned "to the fourth of March, 1841, at Washington, then and there to witness the inauguration of the People's President."<sup>20</sup> *Niles' Register*, inadvertently perhaps, delivered a negative verdict on the importance of Whig speechmaking when it devoted fifteen closely printed columns to a description of the procession and but a few sentences to each of the speakers. From what one can perceive from the brief accounts, speeches were delivered in a flamboyant fashion, with much mimicry and histrionics to amuse the noisy crowds. Content was a curious mixture of the grandiloquent, the coarse, and the vituperative. Imagery was alternately crude and classical, while both praise and damnation came only in superlatives. Language was vivid—as well as plentiful. Though logical argument was not wholly neglected, the predominant quality of the thinking was expressed in the couplet:

Without a why or wherefore  
We'll go for Harrison therefore.

As one might suspect on such an occasion, there were diversions other than parades and oratory. These activities included a balloon ascension, a fancy dress ball at Washington Hall<sup>21</sup> (promoted by Mr. Charles Spies, who promised "an extraordinary galaxy of beauty," including "fair delegates from other cities"), numerous games of chance, two drownings, one murder, and an unspecified number of assaults with intent to do great bodily harm.

<sup>19</sup> *Baltimore Republican*, May 9, 1840.

<sup>20</sup> *The Log Cabin Advocate*, May 9, 1840.

<sup>21</sup> Located on East Baltimore Street, adjoining the bridge (now East Baltimore and the Fallsway). See advertisement in *Matchett's Baltimore Director, for 1840-1*, opposite title page.



After pointing out that a million dollars was "wasted in a miserable attempt at manufacturing popular enthusiasm," the *Republican* complained the Whigs had substituted "the exhibition of flags, flagons, and log cabins" for "deliberation and exposition—the usual business of conventions."<sup>22</sup> Thomas Ritchie, editor of the *Richmond Enquirer*, explained that Whig leaders "were afraid to attempt . . . any Address, because this motley multitude, like the monstrous image of Nebuchadnezzar, is made up of such heterogeneous and ill-sorted materials, that they have no great principles on which they can agree."<sup>23</sup> With some insight, the *Loco-Foco Rough Hearer* concluded that "in America, aristocracy is obliged to . . . disguise itself under the forms of democracy. . . . Hence declamation and slang, instead of argument—hence pageant-tries and shows [instead of reason]."<sup>24</sup> From the quiet of his study in Washington, elder statesman John Quincy Adams saw "a revolution in the habits and the manners of the people."<sup>25</sup> The common man had arrived, somewhat noisily, in American Whig politics.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>22</sup> *Baltimore Republican*, May 11, 1840. See also, *Washington Globe*, May 5, 1840.

<sup>23</sup> *Richmond Enquirer*, May 12, 1840.

<sup>24</sup> *Albany Rough Hearer*, April 30, 1840.

<sup>25</sup> Allan Nevins (ed.), *The Diary of John Quincy Adams* (New York, 1928), recording for May 6, 1840, p. 509.

<sup>26</sup> The Catholic Archbishop of Baltimore issued a pastoral letter urging his parishoners "to avoid the contaminating influence of political strife." *Niles' Register*, July 4, 1840.

"The pageant-tries & parades of profligate and unprinciple parties" fell "fainter and fainter" on the ear of John Greenleaf Whittier, who announced his support for the first abolitionist candidate, James G. Birney. Whittier to "My Beloved Friend" [Gerrit Smith], August 30, 1840, R. C. Fabian (ed.), "Some Uncollected Letters of John Greenleaf Whittier to Gerrit Smith, *American Literature*, XX (May, 1950), 162-163.

# FOUNTAIN ROCK, THE RINGGOLD HOME IN WASHINGTON COUNTY

By EDITH ROSSITER BEVAN

SPRING was at high tide when Samuel Ringgold and Maria Cadwalader were married on the 3rd of May, 1792. He was the eldest son of the late Thomas Ringgold, a wealthy merchant of Chestertown. The sixteen-year-old bride was the daughter of the late General John Cadwalader of Kent County and granddaughter of Edward Lloyd of Wye, Talbot County. The young couple soon started on their long journey to Washington County where they planned to settle. Land was plentiful in that newly created county, and Ringgold became the owner of some 17,000 acres known as Conococheague or Ringgold's Manor. Probably the young bride felt they had moved to a wilderness, which it was, compared to the older counties of the Eastern Shore and Southern Maryland. But the house which Ringgold built for her was as large and as fine as the houses in the bay counties. Soon she was too busy with household cares to worry about the lack of neighbors for twelve children were born to Samuel and Maria Ringgold before she died in 1811 at the early age of thirty-five.<sup>1</sup>

Ringgold knew fine houses. He was born in 1770 in "The Abbey," or Ringgold house in Chestertown.<sup>2</sup> This house his grandfather, Thomas Ringgold, Sr. (1721-1772), created by connecting two brick dwellings which he purchased from Dr. Murray into a long L shaped house. It had finely paneled drawing rooms and a superb antler type staircase in a separate stair hall. Thomas Ringgold made his will four years before he died.<sup>3</sup> It strongly suggests that the house was given to his only child, Thomas, Jr.,

<sup>1</sup> J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Western Maryland* (Philadelphia, 1882), II, 1023 ff. See also, *Baltimore Sun*, July 14, 1912.

<sup>2</sup> See Raymond B. Clark, Jr., "The Abbey or Ringgold House, at Chestertown, Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XLVI (June, 1951), 81-92.

<sup>3</sup> Sarah E. Stuart, *Kent County Calendar of Wills*, I, 166.

when he married Mary Galloway, daughter of the great Quaker merchant, Samuel Galloway, of "Tulip Hill," Anne Arundel County. He left to his wife his plantation on the Eastern Neck and "the use and occupation of the Tenament Houses, Lott and ground and garden which I bought from Dr. Murray in Chestertown in which my son now lives." Without much doubt it was Thomas, Jr., who in 1771 ordered the beautiful carved woodwork and overmantel in the drawing room, now installed in the Maryland wing at the Baltimore Museum of Art and thought to be the work of the master carver and architect, William Buckland.

Ringgold did not long enjoy his beautiful room for he died in 1776 leaving a widow, four sons, and a daughter. He left a large estate for those days for his father-in-law and Joseph Galloway, brother-in-law, were sureties for £50,000 sterling for the Testamentary Bond.<sup>4</sup> Mentioned in his will was land in Frederick County.<sup>5</sup> Whether Ringgold's land lay in the new county is not known. Possibly it was to investigate or take over this property that his son, Samuel Ringgold moved to Washington County and settled there.

The site Ringgold selected for his home was the brow of a low hill about six miles south of fast-growing Elizabeth-Town (renamed Hagerstown in 1814). Soon he started to build a stately mansion. He called his home "Fountain Rock," after an ever-flowing spring, long known to the Indians as Bai Yuka, or Fountain Rock, which gushed forth from the base of a great rock a short distance below the house site.

Like most of the early houses in that section of the country it was built of native limestone and was covered with stucco. It measured 150 feet from wing to wing;<sup>6</sup> the house was 60 feet deep with a shallow two story bay at the center of the rear of the house.<sup>7</sup> It is said that it took eight years to complete this noble mansion—one year longer than it took to build "Hampton," the home of the Ridgely family in Baltimore County.<sup>8</sup> The house was seven bays

<sup>4</sup> Testamentary bond, Thomas Ringgold, Jr., dated January 3, 1777, for £50,000 sterling, John Galloway, acting executor, with Samuel Galloway and Joseph Galloway, sureties. *Ibid.*, I, 178.

It is worth note that a bond of but £10,000 was required of those who settled the estate of his father.

<sup>5</sup> E. B. Matthews, *The Counties of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1907), p. 557.

<sup>6</sup> *Bai Yuka* (1914 Yearbook of St. James School).

<sup>7</sup> See illustration of rear view of house.

<sup>8</sup> See John H. Scarff, "'Hampton,' Baltimore County, Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XLIII (June, 1948), 101-102.

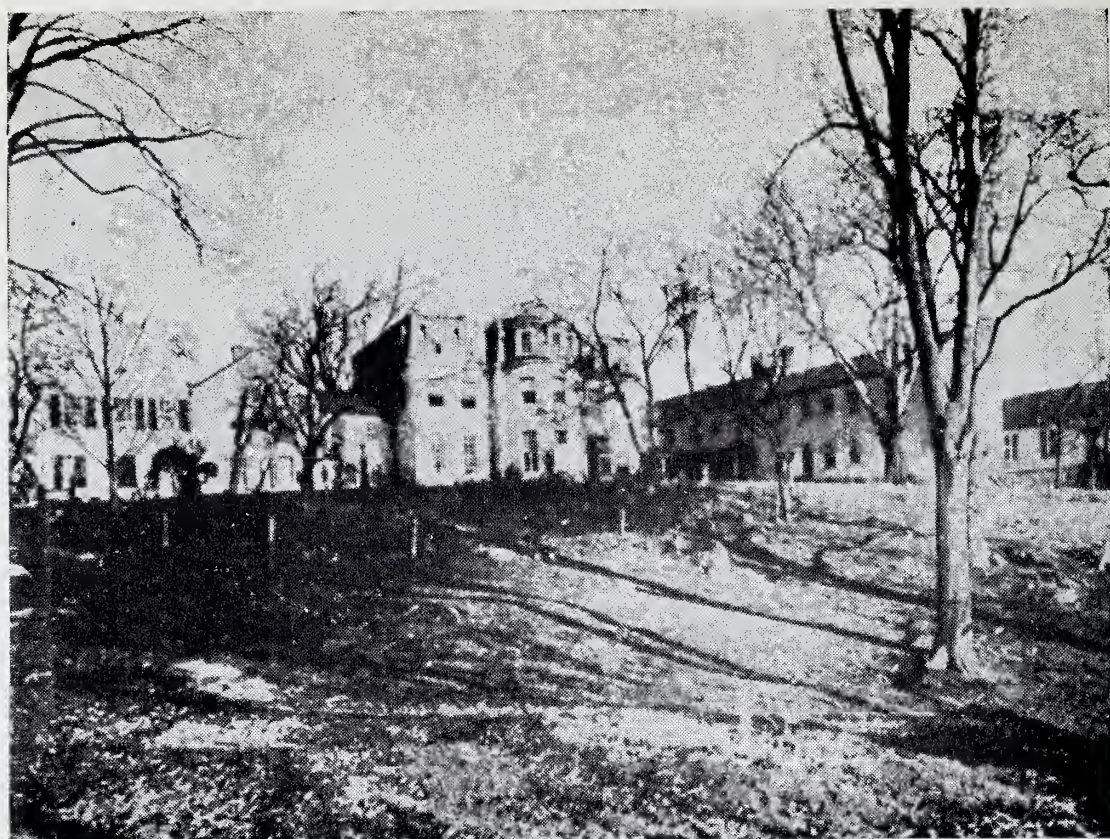




FOUNTAIN ROCK.

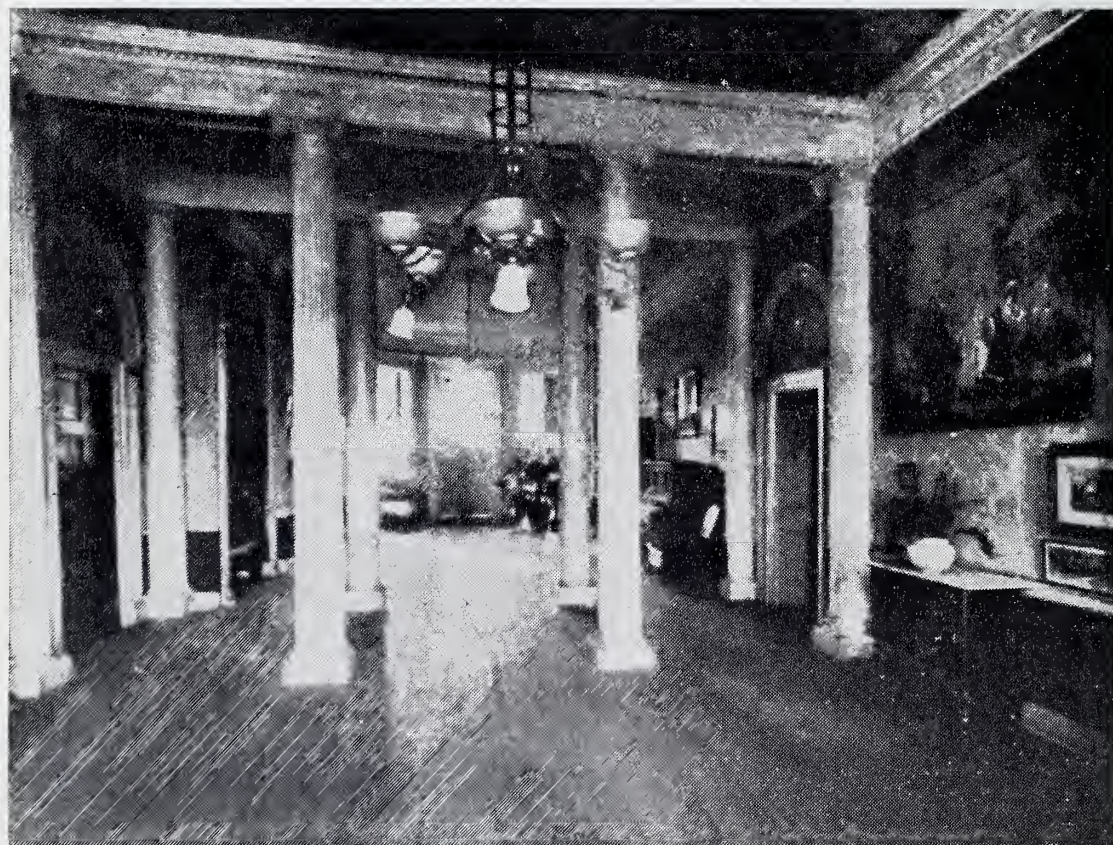
Sketch used as frontispiece in George Hay Ringgold's book, *Fountain Rock*.





REAR VIEW OF FOUNTAIN ROCK

After mansard roof was added, showing enlarged east wing.



MAIN HALLWAY LOOKING SOUTH TOWARD THE BAY



wide with an entrance door in the center which was reached by a flight of wide steps from a terrace below the house. It was two stories high with an attic. The hipped roof, which was slate, had dormer windows at the sides and an oval window in the triangular pediment over the entrance door. The windows were taller than average, for the rooms throughout the house had unusually high ceilings. Recessed passageways led to balanced wings which were two stories high with a lunette (half-moon window) in the gable. The wings were appreciably lower than the main house.

Although the front façade of the house was imposing, largely due to its size and excellent proportions, it was the interior of Fountain Rock that was considered outstanding—the graceful unsupported circular stairway, the pillared hallway with fine cornice and moulded (some say hand carved) frieze and the handsome stuccoed ceilings. It was on the rooms of the first floor of the house that Ringgold lavished his wealth and the architect showed his skill in design. The entrance door opened on a central hall, thirty feet wide, with a notably fine cornice and Greek frieze which ran the depth of the hall and around the semi-circular bay at the rear. Three very tall windows in this bay overlooked the lawn or garden area at the rear of the house. This hall, magnificent but unheated, may have been a cool retreat in the sultry days of summer, but must have been a frigid passageway when winter came to Washington County. The hall was separated into two parts by a colonnade with entablature. Why the columns which faced the entrance door were a form of Corinthian and those in the rear, Doric, is not known. Above the columns the Greek cornice and frieze extended the width of the hall to engaged columns which flanked arched doorways on both sides of the hall. The door on the left opened on a large square stair hall, lighted by the two windows on the west side of the entrance door. A hanging staircase curved to the left; an elaborate stucco rose of great beauty crowned the high ceiling. At the rear of the stairhall and opening on it was a large square room with fireplace on the inside wall. Probably this room was used as a bedroom or possibly as a dining room. The stairhall also gave access to the passageway to the east wing.

The arched doorway on the right side of the entrance hall opened on a large room which could also be entered from a door at the rear of the main hall. Midway between the doors was a



large but inadequate fireplace. Opening off the hall at the front of the house was another large room, with a fireplace — possibly used as an office, which gave access to the west wing. On the other side of the hallway, directly opposite, was a false door, placed there perhaps for the sake of symmetry or possibly it was walled up if and when the circular stair case was added at a later period.

George A. Hanson, the historian of Kent County, considered Ringgold's mansion "the most elegant private residence in Maryland . . . adorned with beautiful stucco work and elaborate wood carving" and stated that "in many particulars it resembled the President's house in Washington." Hanson knew Fountain Rock well, for as a student at St. James College he lived there for six years, graduating in 1848.<sup>9</sup>

The President's house that Hanson referred to was the second home of the chief executive. The original house, designed by James Hoban in 1792, was built of gray sand stone from quarries at Aquia Creek, Virginia. This house was gutted by the British in the War of 1812, and only the smoke-scarred walls remained standing. Benjamin Henry Latrobe (1766-1820), one of the architects of the Capitol, was the architect employed for its reconstruction. In 1809 he had collaborated with Dolly Madison in the purchase of furniture and decoration for the president's house. Six thousand dollars was the princely sum allowed by the Government to completely equip the house, but the result was quite magnificent and Dolly Madison's stately rooms with their classic touches soon became the criterion for the fast changing taste of the nation. Latrobe followed the original plan closely in the reconstruction, but the outward appearance of the house was quite different. The smoke stained walls were painted gleaming white. Before long the home of the President was known as the White House.

Latrobe is often credited with being the architect of Fountain Rock and tradition handed down by Mrs. Henry (Mary Latrobe) Onderdonk from her father, B. H. Latrobe, Jr., confirms this tradition, though positive documentary proof is lacking.<sup>10</sup> If

<sup>9</sup> *Old Kent* (Baltimore, 1876), p. 67.

<sup>10</sup> Adrian H. Onderdonk to writer, March 4, 1949, and undated letter (autumn 1951). However, Professor Talbot Hamlin in a letter to the writer dated February 6, 1952, states, "I have at last found another Latrobe reference which gives some support to the idea that Latrobe worked on Fountain Rock. This is a letter of July 19, 1806 to Samuel Ringgold at Hagerstown sending him information with

Scharf is correct in indicating that the house was started in 1792, Latrobe could not have designed it.<sup>11</sup> The pillared hallway, the wall inches, and the unsupported staircase strongly suggest Latrobe's work. It seems highly probable that he designed some of the notably fine interior of the house some years after it was built. Ringgold may have wished to bring his home up-to-date, just as his father presumably employed William Buckland to design the beautiful drawing room in his home at Chestertown, many years after that house was built.

Without question Samuel Ringgold knew Latrobe in Washington. They would naturally move in the same social circle. Frances Cadwalader, a young half-sister of Mrs. Ringgold, was the wife of David Erskine, British minister to the United States, and the Ringgolds doubtless often visited there before he represented Maryland in Congress in 1810.<sup>12</sup> With his engaging personality and great wealth Ringgold had long been a popular leader in Washington County.<sup>13</sup> He was a member of the House of Delegates in 1795 and State Senator from 1801 to 1806, when he became Judge of the Levy Court of Washington County. Active in organizing the State militia, he was appointed a brigadier general in 1810, and served in the War of 1812. From 1810 to 1815 he represented Maryland in the U. S. Congress and again from 1817 to 1821, driving to and from Washington in his coach and four with liveried out-riders. Legend tells that his hospitality was unbounded and that he entertained many of his political associates, including Presidents Madison and Monroe, in a lavish manner at Fountain Rock. Henry Clay is said to have been a frequent guest there. Gambling was a favorite pastime in those days and both

regard to the price of an iron roof for his house. On the basis of \$280 per ton of the iron sheets, the price of material would work out to \$25 to \$30 a square. Latrobe adds that he has made a conditional contract for this iron in Ringgold's name, if Ringgold approves.

"This certainly indicates a connection between Latrobe and the Ringgold house and lends at least circumstantial support to the idea that Latrobe was Ringgold's architect, for this is precisely the kind of thing an architect would do. There is, however, in this year no other Ringgold correspondence existing to verify the fact; perhaps their arrangements were largely verbal, and in any case, few of the letters to Latrobe have been preserved."

The Onderdonk and Hamlin letters have been presented to the Maryland Historical Society.

<sup>11</sup> Scharf, *op. cit.*, II, 1023.

<sup>12</sup> Anne H. Wharton, *Salons, Colonial and Republican* (Philadelphia, 1900), p. 195.

<sup>13</sup> *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1949* (1950), p. 1740.



Clay and Ringgold were inveterate gamblers and played for high stakes. Tradition has it that a large room on the second floor of the west wing was known for many years as the General's gaming room.<sup>14</sup>

In 1816 Ringgold was appointed a commissioner to erect a new Court House for Washington County at Hagerstown. Benjamin Henry Latrobe was the architect selected to design the building. The Court House he designed — a fine example of his ideals of simple and monumental design — was destroyed by fire in 1871, but two of his original drawings of the building hang in the present Court House in the office of the Clerk of the Circuit Court. Recently much correspondence between Latrobe and Ringgold relative to the Court House has been found in the Latrobe papers in the possession of the family.<sup>15</sup>

Ringgold's wife died in 1811. He must have desperately needed someone to care for his younger children and take on the heavy duties of hostess at Fountain Rock. Within a couple of years he married again. The bride was Marie Antoinette Hay, daughter of Judge George Hay of Virginia and Washington.<sup>16</sup> Legend tells us that the wedding took place at the President's house. Though proof of this is lacking, it would be characteristic of that great lady, Dolly Madison, to offer her home for this occasion. Without doubt she knew Miss Hay whose father had married (2nd) Eliza Monroe, eldest daughter of James Monroe, then Secretary of State, and she must have known Ringgold also for he was an ardent supporter of President Madison.<sup>17</sup>

Although Ringgold was reputed to be a man of great wealth, his last years were clouded with financial worries. "Probably no man ever lived in Western Maryland who exerted a wider influence or enjoyed a more unqualified popularity,"<sup>18</sup> but he lived in an extravagant manner and at last his riches took wings and flew away. Though large families were the order of that day, the problem of clothing and educating 15 children as befitted their station must have been increasingly difficult. Three of his sons had distinguished careers. Major Samuel Ringgold (1796-1846) was

<sup>14</sup> Scharf, *op. cit.*

<sup>15</sup> Courtesy Mr. Hamlin who is preparing a biography of B. H. Latrobe.

<sup>16</sup> Hanson, *op. cit.*

<sup>17</sup> "Hay Family," *Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, VIII (1927), 277-278; Hanson, *op. cit.*

<sup>18</sup> Scharf, *op. cit.*, II, 1023.



mortally wounded in the battle of Palo Alto, Mexican War.<sup>19</sup> Cadwalader Ringgold (1802-1867) rose to the rank of rear admiral, U. S. Navy.<sup>20</sup> Col. George Hay Ringgold (1814-1864) was paymaster in the army and saw service in the Mexican and Civil Wars. Ringgold would have been proud of his sons. His daughter, Virginia, married John Ross Key, a son of Francis Scott Key. Ringgold died in 1829, at the home of his daughter, Ann Cadwalader Schley, wife of William Schley, a prominent lawyer of Frederick.

Many years later Colonel Ringgold who was "a gifted scholar, an accomplished draughtsman and an amateur poet" recalled his happy boyhood home in a long romantic poem entitled *Fountain Rock*, which was published in 1860.<sup>21</sup> In memory, he again visits the home he loved as a child.

Now, as of yore, the peaceful scene  
 Extends a loveliness serene;  
 The white-walled mansion, stretching wide  
 Its airy wings on either side;  
 The slated roof, the dormers grey,  
 Touched by the morning's misty ray;  
 The stately poplars, lifting high  
 Their mitred heads against the sky;  
 The oval plot, the road around  
 That served us for our racing ground,

In true Victorian fashion he visits the rustic bower, the dingle by the spring. He roams the meadow where once he played among the tents of new mown hay; again he sees the bleating sheep and hears the shepherd's whistle sweet and clear. He picks the luscious fruits of every hue — "the blushing peach, the damson blue, the gage, the ripe and juicy pear." He views the garden neat, like chaste embroidery at his feet and darting through the flowers he hears the green enameled humming bird. But the house he does not enter.

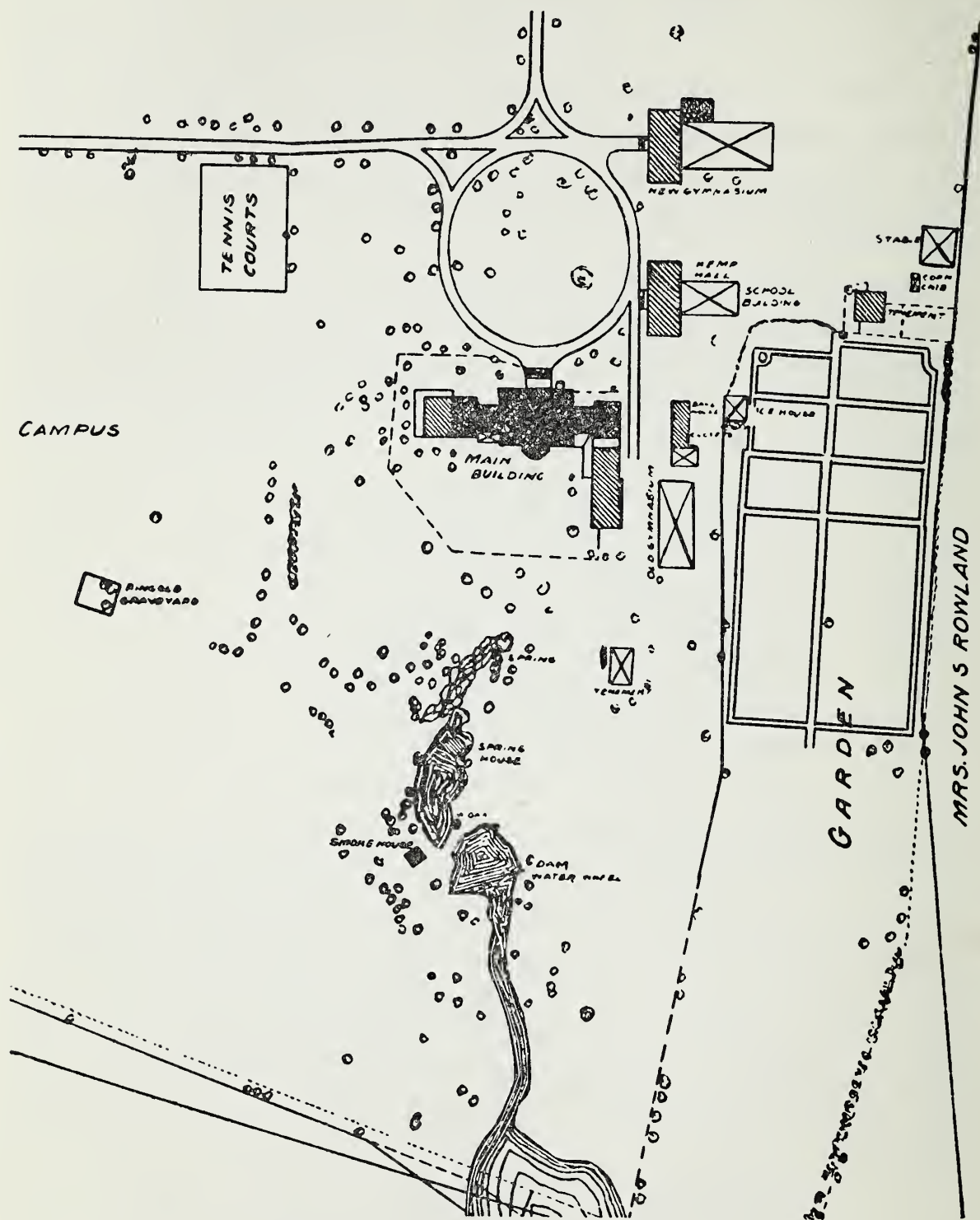
... strangers now thy portals fill,  
 Now within thy saddened hall  
 Strange voices speak — strange footsteps fall

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<sup>19</sup> See James Wynne, *Memoir of Major Samuel Ringgold* (Baltimore, 1847) [Maryland Historical Society pre-Fund publication No. 7].

<sup>20</sup> *Dictionary of American Biography*, XV, 616-617.

<sup>21</sup> *Fountain Rock, Amy Weir, and Other Metrical Pastimes* (New York, 1860). The only known copy is in the Huntington Library, San Marino, California. A microfilm copy of the poem describing Fountain Rock is now at the Maryland Historical Society.



### PLOT OF GROUNDS OF ST. JAMES' SCHOOL

Showing former Ringgold Mansion, family burial ground, and the spring.

Fountain Rock was sold to liquidate General Ringgold's debts. The mansion and 700 acres were advertised for sale at auction by Schley in the *Hagerstown Torch Light and Public Advertiser* on August 9, 1832.

Fountain Rock [the advertisement reads] is supposed to be unsurpassed, in its attractiveness of any estate of equal size in Maryland, either as a country residence or a mere farm. The soil is of the first quality of Strong Limestone land. It is in a good state of cultivation. The Mansion House is convenient, capacious and admirably built. The improvements consist, in addition of an Overseer's House, a quarter, a large Barn, &. &. It is finely watered:—its name has been taken from a large never-failing spring which issues from the Rock on which the house has been erected and which is of sufficient strength to operate a mill at some distance from the source.

It was purchased by Col. Jacob Hollingsworth of Anne Arundel County.<sup>22</sup> He made quite a fortune selling some of the land and soon moved to Hagerstown to live. Several times Fountain Rock was purchased by people who soon found it too expensive to maintain and allowed the property to deteriorate.

In 1842, it was again on the market. That year the house and 20 acres of land was purchased for \$5,000 by the Protestant Episcopal Church for a school for boys which opened that fall as St. James Hall with fourteen pupils.<sup>23</sup> Two years later it was incorporated as St. James College. The school prospered, drawing many students from the Southern States as well as Maryland. It is of interest to find that three grandsons of Benjamin Henry Latrobe were enrolled there in the early days of the college.<sup>24</sup> Some necessary changes were made to convert a private dwelling, soon called Claggett Hall, to a boarding school. The west wing was enlarged to become the home of the headmaster and rector, the Rev. Mr. John B. Kerfoot. The east wing was greatly extended to provide a large dining hall for the students and General Ringgold's gaming room on the second floor was enlarged to become the chapel of the school. Later the hipped roof of the main house was raised to a mansard to provide cubicles for 35 students, but the rooms on the first floor remained unchanged.<sup>25</sup> Due to conditions

<sup>22</sup> Scharf, *op. cit.*, pp. 1025-1036.

<sup>23</sup> Kerfoot, J. B., *Three Addresses Delivered at the Commencements of The College of St. James, Washington County, Maryland, in 1846, 1847, and 1848* (1848), p. 8 ff.

<sup>24</sup> *Register of the College of St. James . . .* (1847?), p. 26.

<sup>25</sup> Adrian H. Onderdonk to writer, July 18, 1951. This letter has been presented to the Maryland Historical Society.



arising from the Civil War the college closed in 1864. In 1869, with Mr. Henry Onderdonk as headmaster, it reopened as St. James School and as such continues today.

The old Ringgold mansion was destroyed by fire the winter of 1926.<sup>26</sup> For many hours the ever faithful spring supplied fire engines from Hagerstown with water, but the historic building was doomed. Gradually the various out-buildings and old slave quarters, all built of native stone, fell into decay or were demolished to make way for modern improvements to the school property. Even the old family burial ground surrounded by a high wall of stone has disappeared. Nothing now remains of General Ringgold's famous estate except the old spring and a giant poplar tree in the circle in front of the present Claggett Hall, a handsome modern building which stands on the site of old Fountain Rock.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Baltimore *Sun*, March 6, 1926.

<sup>27</sup> It is not easy to mentally construct a house that no longer exists, and it would have been impossible without the aid given by Miss Eleanor Bevan (former St. James staff member), who well remembers the old building. I am also greatly indebted to the members of the staffs at the Maryland Historical Society and the Maryland Department, Enoch Pratt Free Library, who tirelessly assisted me in every possible way; to Mr. Vernon B. Kellett, Headmaster, St. James School, who furnished most of the illustrations in this article, to Mr. Adrian Holmes Onderdonk, former headmaster at St. James School, who kindly gave a detailed description of the rooms on the first floor and drew a rough floor plan; and to Mr. Henry Chandlee Forman for valuable comment.

# THE FREEDMEN'S BUREAU AND EDUCATION IN MARYLAND

By W. A. Low

**K**NOWN popularly as the Freedmen's Bureau, the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands was established to serve the needs of persons who were displaced or dislocated by the Civil War. The act of establishment, passed slightly more than one month before Lee's surrender to Grant, gave broad powers to the Bureau to control all subjects "relating to Refugees and freedmen from rebel states, or from any district or county within the territory embraced in the operation of the Army under such rules and regulations as may be prescribed by the head of the Bureau and approved by the President."<sup>1</sup> Specifically, the Bureau was established in order to care for freedmen, refugees, and abandoned lands of the South; to issue food, clothing, and fuel; and to administer to the medical needs of freedmen and refugees.

The powers of the Bureau were further enlarged by a congressional act of July 16, 1866. At this time the Bureau was legally empowered to make self-supporting citizens of all loyal refugees and freedmen "as speedily as possible" by using or selling Confederate property in order to provide for the "education of the freed people."<sup>2</sup> This act also directed the Bureau to cooperate with private "benevolent associations and with agents and teachers accredited by them"; to rent or to lease buildings whenever teachers could be obtained without cost to the Federal Government; to provide schoolhouses; to serve as a coordinating agency for the administration, direction, and supervision of education for freedmen. It seems clear that the broad bases for public education of the Negro are traceable to the influence of the Bureau and

<sup>1</sup> *U. S. Statutes at Large*, Vol. 13, p. 507.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. 14, p. 174.

its cooperation with private and religious philanthropies. Writing the first comprehensive history of the Bureau, Paul S. Peirce gave a definitive appraisal and description of the Bureau's role in education: <sup>3</sup>

It inaugurated a system of instruction, though it did not perfect that system nor assure its continuance. It gave central organization, encouragement, protection, and financial support to the efforts of philanthropists, freedmen, and states. By affording protection and encouragement, it induced more teachers to engage in the education of Negroes. By extending government supervision and sanction, it inspired philanthropists with increased confidence in the work of the benevolent and religious societies.

This description by Peirce is applicable to the Bureau's work in Maryland. Although the State was not one of the "military districts" established to administer the "insurrectionary" or "rebel" states (for Maryland did not secede from the Union), the Bureau was very much in operation within the State despite the fact that states of the Lower South claimed its major efforts. Unlike states of the Lower South, however, the Bureau's work in Maryland did not extend to medical and food services or to the care and disposition of "abandoned" Confederate property. With the exception of the settlement of veteran bounty claims, the work in Maryland was concerned largely with problems of education and the administration of justice.

Problems of education and justice were closely related because in attempting to solve the problem of education in Maryland the Bureau was faced with the problem of releasing school-age youths from illegal apprenticeship. Following quickly in the wake of the legal collapse of the slave system, the system of apprenticeship carried the stamp of its slave origins and background, binding many Negro youths to former masters. The apprentice system was more completely accepted and adopted by pro-slave interests when it became apparent that there would be no compensation for former slaveholders after emancipation of slaves, that Negro youth could be readily apprenticed in some areas of the State with consent and sanction of local authorities, and that the Federal Government acting through the Bureau could not always enforce its program of emancipation and civil rights. Making allowance for the number of cases that were not reported and

<sup>3</sup> Paul S. Peirce, *The Freedmen's Bureau; A Chapter in the History of Reconstruction* (Iowa City, 1904), p. 83.



the prevalence of the system on the Eastern Shore and Southern Maryland, it may be that about ten thousand Negro youths were bound out as apprentices between 1864 and 1867.

The Bureau's attack upon the apprentice system was successful. By 1867 the system had begun to crumble. For example, General Edgar M. Gregory, commissioner for Maryland, pointed out in a report that the Orphans Court in Washington County had refused to bind any more Negroes and that only one Negro apprentice remained in Dorchester County. He further stated that "reports from the counties show that the system had begun to yield to the continual pressure brought through this office and the legal solicitors of the State."<sup>4</sup> By the summer of 1868 the apprentice system had been practically destroyed.<sup>5</sup> It was expressly forbidden by the Maryland Constitution of 1867.

The system of apprenticeship was an encumbrance to the education of Negro youths. It appears that younger children were less molested by former masters than older children who were invariably sought for field or household work. A universal complaint that former masters made against the establishment of schools for Negroes was that children would be taken away from the fields.<sup>6</sup> Thus, in its fight against the apprentice system, the Bureau gave indirect encouragement to the education of Negro youths. Moreover, the Bureau gave direct aid to the establishment of the first school system for Negroes in Maryland. Materials, equipment, and funds were given for the construction, rental, or repair of schoolhouses. Protection and transportation were provided for teachers who were supplied by civic and religious organizations. Encouragement and cooperation were given to freedmen and persons or agencies interested in the education of the Negro.

The work of the Bureau came at a time when state support of education was non-existent for Negroes and in its infancy for whites. While the Bureau was busy in establishing Negro schools throughout Maryland, no material provision for Negro education

<sup>4</sup> Records of the War Department, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, Record Group 105, National Archives, MS report to Edward Ketchum dated April 11, 1867. All MSS in this paper, cited as Record Group 105, have reference to this group.

<sup>5</sup> Record Group 105, Report by Horace M. Brooks to O. O. Howard, May 29, 1868; letter from Brooks to Howard, July 29, 1868.

<sup>6</sup> Record Group 105, Report by George J. Stannard to O. O. Howard, June 30, 1866.

was being made by the State itself. The atmosphere of Reconstruction politics, the historic attitude of Marylanders toward public or Negro education, and the scarcity of state funds were some of the factors that prevented the State from embarking upon a program of Negro education in the years following the close of the war. It is true, however, that the State made legal provisions for a uniform system of free public schools in its constitutions of 1864 and 1867, but Negro education was ignored or denounced at official levels.

The first annual report of Reverend Libertus Van Bokkelen, Maryland's first superintendent of public schools, recommended that the State should provide separate schools for Negroes in "every district where 30 or more pupils will regularly attend."<sup>7</sup> But further on in this report Van Bokkelen, a former president of St. John's College, Annapolis, frankly admitted that nothing "has been done for this class in the State." In fact, it may be said that the State gave practically no material support to Negro education during the first five years following the close of the War. For example, according to annual reports of the State Board of Education, the amount of aid to "colored schools" for the entire State, excluding Baltimore, was only \$4,580.31 in 1870;<sup>8</sup> about \$20.00 was added to this amount in the following year. In other words, the amount that the State was spending in 1870 on Negro education was not one-fifth of the amount being spent annually by the Bureau in 1867.

As in other states, private and religious philanthropy came to the aid of Negro education, putting forth an effort that was comprehensive, decisive, valuable, and permanent in the history of Negro education in Maryland. Prominent among these groups were the Baltimore Association, the New England Freedmen's Aid Society, the American Missionary Association, and the Freedmen's Union Association. All except the Baltimore Association were national groups established to provide for the relief of freedmen. Many of the first Negro schools in the State were founded and supported by these organizations.

The work of the Baltimore Association was by far the most impressive. In fact, it may be said that the Association's cooperation with the Bureau was instrumental in the establishment of the

<sup>7</sup> Maryland State Board of Education, *Annual Report* (1866), p. 64 *et seq.*

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* (1870), p. 6.



first state-wide system for Negro schools. The Association was a non-sectarian, civic group with its offices in two rooms of the Bible House, 25 North Charles Street in Baltimore. Founded in December of 1864, the Association obtained its support primarily from local sources, but by 1867 financial difficulties forced it to seek out-of-state support. The search was in vain, and by 1869 the treasury was depleted, preventing the Association from sending its representatives, as usual, throughout the State for purposes of examining and supervising Negro education.<sup>9</sup>

Perhaps jealous of its dominant role, the Association resented subordination to the Bureau which, in turn, decided to remain "an independant power ready to work with, as well as protect all associations who are engaged in the same work . . . as well as teachers and school houses of the Association." The Bureau seemed determined to cooperate fairly with all religious and civic groups interested in the education of freedmen "to encourage the work of education and to push it on to its fullest completeness."<sup>10</sup> In return, the Association and other groups recognized and depended upon the Bureau as a central agency through which all could appeal for material aid, transportation, information, and protection.

The Bureau kept data on all Negro schools and made regular monthly reports to officials in Washington. These manuscript reports, together with many papers and letters, are the best sources of data for a study of the first school system for Negroes in Maryland but have been almost inaccessible until recent years. The Bureau's reports on Negro schools are thorough in detail and show (on printed forms after 1866) such headings as "Location and Name of School," "Societies and Patrons," "Number of Schools sustained by Freedmen," "Number of Schools sustained in part by Freedmen" and "Number of School Buildings Furnished by Bureau." In addition, for each school listed there is a statistical break-down for such items as number of teachers by color, number of pupils by sex, student attendance, age of students and number who were free before the War. Generally, all of the required information for all schools and pupils is listed. Such

<sup>9</sup> Record Group 105, Report by Charles McDougall to Edward C. Knowler, March 5, 1867.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.* This report, sustained by higher headquarters, was critical of the Baltimore Association which was cited as being jealous of the efforts put forth by other groups in behalf of Negro education.

thorough and detailed reports can only mean that the Bureau was the main agency in the State for the collection and dissemination of information, sharing and accepting the confidence that various agencies placed in it.

An examination of some of the reports on schools shows the extent of the Bureau's work of coordination—as well as the post-War education of Negroes. For example, a report for the year ending in June of 1866 (the first general report shown in the records) shows that there were 51 Negro schools in 13 counties and Baltimore City; 27 white and 42 Negro teachers; about 3,000 "scholars."<sup>11</sup> A further examination of this report shows that the Baltimore Association is listed as fully supporting nearly half (23) of the schools and partly supporting two other schools; societies in New England, New York, and Pennsylvania provided for the support of the remainder of the schools. Another report for the following year (October, 1867) shows that many changes had taken place. The number of schools had increased from 51 to 81; the number of Negro teachers had practically doubled, increasing from 42 to 81, but the number of white teachers declined to 24. A total enrollment of 4,000 "pupils" is given. Thirty-seven of all schools listed were being supported by the Baltimore Association, an increase of 14 over the previous year.

Other interesting data in the reports throw light upon the extent of the Negro's own contributions. The monthly report for October of 1867, for example, shows that 55 of the 81 schools were being partially maintained by freedmen; and 42 schools were listed as being owned solely by freedmen. Two of the schools were being maintained in Baltimore from a legacy left by Nelson Wells, a Negro who had acquired a considerable amount of property in Baltimore during the slave period. Wells' legacy was known to officials of the Bureau who in one report stated that Wells left all of his property in 1845 for the founding of a school for Negroes. Amounting to \$7,000, his legacy was entrusted to John Needles, Edward Jessup, and Isaac Tyson.<sup>12</sup> But apparently the

<sup>11</sup> Record Group 105, Report by Stannard, *op. cit.* Counties in Southern Maryland on the Western Shore, not being under General Stannard's jurisdiction, were not listed in this report. Consolidated statistics for the State show that at the time of this report there were 86 Negro schools, 101 teachers, and 8,144 "scholars." See John W. Alvord, *Semi-Annual Report on Schools for Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands* (Washington, 1866), p. 19.

<sup>12</sup> Record Group 105, Report by McDougall to Knower, January 9, 1867.



fund that Wells set up was nearly exhausted by 1868, for two of the Trustees wrote to General Horace M. Brooks, the last commissioner in Maryland, asking for a donation of \$60.00 "to pay our annual rent and for six desks; as the amount left by the said Wells is not sufficient to pay our teachers a fair compensation for their services."<sup>13</sup> One of the schools was located at Hanover Street and Cypress Alley in Baltimore.

Indeed, it was well known to officials of the Bureau that Negroes heartily supported the cause of education even from the depths of their poverty and ignorance. The records of the Bureau show that officials often praised such sacrifices as shown in an excerpt from a report by Captain Samuel I. Wright, the Bureau's Quartermaster officer in the State, to Colonel William H. Wiegel, Maryland's Assistant Adjutant General:<sup>14</sup>

The friends [of Negroes] have great cause to rejoice in the work, which has accomplished all that the most sanguine can expect; when we think of the homeless, landless race who have been crushed by the laws of the land and society—kept as the horse and ox were kept—and now turned out to make their own way in the world, subject to the will and caprice of a people who seek every opportunity to retard their progress, and for slight causes turn them out of their little cabins, for which in many cases they are required to pay a heavy rent, while they receive but meagre pay for their hard day's labor, and then see them coming up to support of the schools, paying their fifty cents or dollar, or more, as the case may be, per month, to help build school houses—and then sending their children paying from ten to fifty cents a week for the board of the teacher—I think we have great reasons to rejoice.

It has been estimated that Negroes in Maryland contributed about \$10,000 for the support of their schools in 1866.<sup>15</sup> On many occasions Negroes obtained lumber from the Bureau and constructed buildings from their own labor. Many of these schoolhouses were the first Negro schools in some counties, particularly on the Western Shore in Southern Maryland.<sup>16</sup>

It is highly probable that in late 1865 or in early 1866 the Bureau began its work of supplying materials for the construc-

<sup>13</sup> Record Group 105, Letter to Brooks, February 12, 1868.

<sup>14</sup> Record Group 105, Report by Wright to Wiegel, July 10, 1867.

<sup>15</sup> Maryland State Board of Education, *Annual Report* (1866), p. 64. The Superintendent admitted that his statistics came from the Baltimore Association, but is probable that the Association had already obtained this information from the Bureau.

<sup>16</sup> Alvord, *Semi-Annual Report* (1869), p. 14.

tion of Negro schools in Maryland. It is not definitely known, but it is likely that the first lumber came from dismantled barracks in Baltimore, perhaps from Hancock Barracks. In one of his earliest printed reports (1866), the Bureau's national superintendent of education, John W. Alvord, made a brief statement that thirty-four schoolhouses were to be built in Maryland from Government lumber. The date of Alvord's report would seem to indicate that the lumber was given in 1865 or early in 1866. It is known, however, that in a letter to Edwin Stanton, Secretary of War, dated September 28, 1866, the actuary of the Baltimore Association stated that "Out of the Old Barracks already turned over to us the colored people have built or are building Thirty Four (34) School Houses, and we have applications for much more from those sections of our state yet unsupplied."<sup>17</sup> Thus, there is the indication that the lumber had been granted earlier than the date of this letter.

This letter from the actuary to Stanton requested more lumber from the Bureau. The actuary enclosed a clipping from a Baltimore newspaper advertising the sale of Hicks U. S. General Hospital by the Quartermaster Department. Stanton sent the letter to General Oliver O. Howard, national commissioner of the Bureau, who gave his consent for the use of the hospital for purposes of Negro education.

Accordingly, the hospital was dismantled, and school houses, blackboards, and desks were made out of lumber from the structure. Two reports by Captain Wright to Baltimore headquarters indicate that by June of 1867 the hospital had been practically demolished and some of the lumber had already been shipped from Baltimore. One report by Wright for June, 1867,<sup>18</sup> shows that \$20.00 was paid to William Stone for watching the lumber; that in April three carpenters were paid a total of \$54.00 for tearing down some of the buildings; that Lewis Brown, a teamster, was paid \$14.50 for hauling some of the lumber on June 5 and June 18; and that William A. Ferguson, the owner of a schooner, was paid \$60.00 for taking some of the lumber to Potter's Landing. In the other report<sup>19</sup> Wright summarized the work of his department, showing that some of the materials for building

<sup>17</sup> Record Group 105, Letter from F. Israel to Howard, September 28, 1866.

<sup>18</sup> Record Group 105, Report by Wright on persons and articles employed and hired at Baltimore during the month of June, 1867.

<sup>19</sup> Record Group 105, Report by Wright to Wiegel, June 30, 1867.



Negro schools had been obtained from the demolition of the hospital. An excerpt from this report is shown below:

Under the direction of the Asst Commr [General Gregory] my attention has been principally given to purchasing and shipping materials for the erection of School Houses for freedpeople. Materials have been shipped to 27 School Houses, 16 in Maryland and 11 in Delaware. The principal part of these materials was taken from the 16 Hospital Wards purchased of the Q. M. D. [Quartermaster Department] last October. From 3 to 7 carpenters have been employed in the demolition of these wards from April 4 to June 15. Only one ward now remains standing, which is used for a Colored Old Women's Home. The expenses for the erection of most of the School Houses is borne by the Freedpeople. Nails have been purchased for 17 of the School Houses and lumber and other materials have been purchased for those at Elkton, Easton, Denton, and Potter's Landing, Md. Ten of the School Houses have been furnished through the Baltimore Association for the Colored People, the rest by the Bureau directly. A large stone building has been purchased in Howard Co. Md. for a large school there. This building was formerly occupied by the Warfield Academy.

The remainder of this report consists mainly of statements of expenditures, persons, and items transported. Every three months the Bureau spent about two-thirds of its appropriations (bounties excluded) for the rent, construction, or repair of schoolhouses.<sup>20</sup>

In addition to the usual appropriations for Maryland, the national Bureau gave special funds for the establishment of a "Colored Normal School." This was not unusual; the Bureau set up a normal school in each state where it operated. The Baltimore Association requested \$10,000 for the purchase and repair of a building located on Courtland and Saratoga streets in Baltimore. General Howard approved the request and granted \$2,000 in addition on February 21, 1868. Accordingly, the Association purchased the building from a Society of Friends and began to carry on instruction. Several years later the school began to receive some financial support from the State. Eventually (1911), the school was removed to Bowie, becoming the Maryland Normal and Industrial School, later the State Teachers College, Bowie.

There was resentment against the Bureau and its educational

<sup>20</sup> Record Group 105, Report by Wright, December 31, 1866. From a total appropriation of \$5,377.48 for this quarter, "repairs and rent of school houses" amounted to \$3,354.00 according to this report. The remainder of the appropriation went for maintenance and salaries. Altogether, \$25,000 was allotted for schools and asylums in Maryland for 1866-1867.

program. During the year immediately following the close of hostilities, Negroes in some communities of Maryland were not permitted to attend school; some teachers were not permitted to teach; sometimes a schoolhouse would be burned. Teachers and students were sometimes intimidated, insulted, or assaulted. Everywhere the tense atmosphere of Reconstruction surrounded the early efforts of the Bureau in Maryland. A portion of Alvord's report for 1866 summarizes the attack against Negro schools: <sup>21</sup>

The educational work in Maryland has had much opposition, such as 'stoning children and teachers at Easton,' 'rough-handling and blackening the teachers at Cambridge,' 'indignation-meeting in Dorchester county, with resolutions passed to drive out the teacher,' and the 'burning of a church and school-house at Wilmington, Kent county'; 'a guard to be placed at the school-house in Annapolis'; etc. Colored churches have been burned in Cecil, Queen Anne [sic], and Somerset counties, to prevent schools being opened in them, all showing that negro hate is not by any means confined to the low South.

Indeed, local resentment against the Bureau and its program was quite evident in Maryland during the Bureau's first year of operation. In its attempts to destroy the apprentice system and build Negro schools the Bureau was far from popular and Negroes frequently became the scapegoats of the resentment. Reaction was strongest in the areas of the old slave belts, principally the Eastern Shore and Southern Maryland on the Western Shore. There were some rumors that the Klan would be formed in the State, but these dark rumors did not come true. Although reaction was often violent within the State, resentment never burst into the full blown conflict that characterized some aspects of Reconstruction in the Lower South. There was no widespread looting, plundering, or violence against the Negro community or Negro sympathizers. But there is evidence of various overtly hostile acts. For example, on Thursday, August 30, 1866, some whites attacked Negroes at a religious "camp meeting" held at Shipley's Wood (near Annapolis) in Anne Arundel County. It was believed that the attack was planned and instigated by "rebel" sympathizers, according to a report made by Thomas H. Gardner, whom the Bureau sent to investigate the disturbance.<sup>22</sup>

While serving as an inspector in Talbot County, Lieutenant

<sup>21</sup> Alvord, *Semi-Annual Report* (1866), p. 13.

<sup>22</sup> Record Group 105, Report by Gardner, October, 1866.



Bailey S. Wells observed that resentment against Negroes in Easton was such that he thought it advisable not to hand out copies of the controversial civil rights law sent to Maryland headquarters for distribution on June 28, 1866.<sup>23</sup> Wells also observed that there was a great deal of prejudice against the Bureau. Other agents of the Bureau had occasion to make similar observations and reported their findings to headquarters in Baltimore.

It must be remembered, however, that early reports by the Bureau on resentment and violence came shortly after the cessation of hostilities when memories and scars of the War were still fresh. Hostility against the Bureau, the Negro, or Negro schools began to subside even before the Bureau closed its headquarters in Baltimore as shown in later reports by officials; opposition became less violent and virulent. As the years passed, much of the bitter opposition to Negro education passed from the political stage of action as the problems of Reconstruction receded into the background. In some Maryland communities sympathy and support began to take roots and grow as it became more and more apparent that Negro schools, churches, court witnesses, or voters constituted no threat to the orderly ways of community life. The brief but vigorous existence of the Bureau was soon forgotten as the State and local communities began to show interest in public education. However, when the Bureau was abolished in 1872, its efforts in establishing Negro schools passed into history, adding another chapter in the story of Reconstruction and serving the Maryland Negro in his critical transition from slavery to freedom.

<sup>23</sup> Record Group 105, Report by Wells, July 16, 1866.

# THE CITY HALL, BALTIMORE

By BENNARD B. PERLMAN

BALTIMORE'S City Hall, dwarfed by some of the larger downtown buildings, is the result of a struggle which extended over the first 75 years of the city's corporate existence and which involved scores of its most capable and energetic citizens. No longer surrounded by similar stylistic structures which have been destroyed or were burned in the Great Fire of 1904, the City Hall, as viewed from across the War Memorial Plaza, is a jewel of architectural ornateness which seems content to nestle in its 20th century surroundings.

Baltimore's fight for a city hall began almost immediately after its establishment as a city, more than 150 years ago. On December 31, 1796, the General Assembly of Maryland passed an act by which Baltimore-Town was erected into a city. Shortly thereafter, the subject of the construction of a city hall arose, and in 1801 the first of a long series of ordinances was passed. It conferred upon an appointed Board of Commissioners, which included such notables as Elias Ellicott and Nicholas Rogers, the authority to purchase a lot of ground and to erect upon it a suitable building for a city hall.<sup>1</sup> The sixth section of this ordinance authorized the board to procure an appropriate house to accommodate the city council and office of mayor until the new city hall could be completed. There is no evidence that the Commission ever submitted a report upon the subject of a new city hall; in any case, the building was not erected.<sup>2</sup>

Until that time—from 1797 to 1801—the city council had met at the house of James Long, on Front Street. Upon the failure

<sup>1</sup> *The City Hall Baltimore. History of Construction and Dedication* (Baltimore, 1877), p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> "The City Hall of Baltimore—Imposing Dedicatory Ceremonies," *The Sun*, October 26, 1875. From the Address by Mayor Joshua Vansant.



of the Commission to purchase a site and have a city hall constructed upon it, Mayor James Calhoun issued the following proclamation on September 24, 1801:

Whereas it appears to me that the public good of the citizens of Baltimore requires the deliberation of the city council at this time: I, therefore, in persuance of the power invested in me, summon the said council to meet at the buildings belonging to Maryland Insurance Company, on South Street, at three o'clock this afternoon. . . .<sup>3</sup>

The following year, the mayor and city council suspended all action under the original ordinance for a period of three years, and in 1806 the erection of a city hall was indefinitely postponed by passage of an act which repealed the Ordinance of 1801.<sup>4</sup>

The South Street building of the Maryland Insurance Company was occupied for municipal purposes until 1810 or 1812, at which time the mayor and city council purchased a building at the corner of Holliday Street and Orange Alley. This structure was used as a city hall until December, 1817, when the Baltimore Dancing Assembly Rooms, at the northeast corner of Holliday and East (now Fayette) Streets were acquired. The property was occupied in February, 1818, and was utilized by the city council and other municipal officers until March 20, 1823. At that time the city entered into an agreement with the Baltimore Exchange Company, leasing offices from it for a period of five years, at \$800 per annum. The lease was renewed and these offices were occupied until the year 1830.<sup>5</sup>

The Baltimore Exchange Company was located at the northwest corner of Gay and Water (now Lombard) Streets in a four-story edifice built in 1817. The building contained an attractive rotunda and dome designed by Benjamin H. Latrobe, architect of the U. S. Capitol. The remainder of the structure was planned by Colonel Jacob Small, a local architect, who became mayor of Baltimore a dozen years later.<sup>6</sup>

Having made no progress thus far in the direction of erecting a city hall, the idea was abandoned, and in 1830 the City of Baltimore purchased Peale's Museum and Gallery of Fine Arts to be

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> *The City Hall Baltimore, op. cit.*, p. 9.

<sup>5</sup> "The City Hall of Baltimore—Imposing Dedicatory Ceremonies," *op. cit.*

<sup>6</sup> *Program of Exercises Incident to Closing Old Custom House Building, Baltimore, Md., December 29, 1900*, p. 5.

used for that purpose. The three-story structure on Holliday Street had been designed by Robert Cary Long, the elder, and built in 1813 at a cost of more than \$14,000. It was constructed for artist Rembrandt Peale as a museum devoted to the arts and sciences, even though Charles Willson Peale, his father, had advised against the undertaking, after having directed a similar venture in Philadelphia. In 1822 Rembrandt sold the museum to his brother, Rubens Peale, but because of continued financial losses, Rubens abandoned the project in 1830. In that year arrangements were concluded by Mayor Jacob Small to purchase the building for use as a city hall.<sup>7</sup>

The acquisition of Peale's Museum by the city only temporarily eliminated the necessity of building a city hall, for as Baltimore expanded geographically and commercially, the need for larger municipal quarters became apparent. In 1853, with interest renewed in the erection of a new structure, a committee was appointed to select a site for the proposed city hall.<sup>8</sup> The following year a "very neat drawing" was submitted to the committee by Mr. Alexander Murdock, Treasurer of the First Presbyterian Church. Since the committee's instructions had been only to select a site for the building, they did not feel obliged to report on the merits of the plan submitted by Mr. Murdock.<sup>9</sup> They did, however, investigate the site which he suggested, and it was the one eventually chosen.

The intention was to close what was then Orange Alley and extend Lexington Street through to Holliday Street. The building would form an oblong square measuring approximately 234 feet by 151 feet, bounded by Lexington, Holliday, Fayette, and North (now Guilford Avenue) Streets.<sup>10</sup> The committee pointed out that a structure proposed for this site could only receive light from two sides and that an excavation of 12 feet would be necessary,<sup>11</sup> due to the fall of the land from the southwest to the northeast corner of the lot.<sup>12</sup> Despite these undesirable elements, an

<sup>7</sup> Richard Carl Medford, "Baltimore's Municipal Museum," *The Municipal Museum Bulletin*, VI (February 1, 1945).

<sup>8</sup> *The City Hall Baltimore*, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

<sup>9</sup> Archives of the City of Baltimore, for the year 1854, document 707. Hereinafter referred to as City Hall Archives followed by year and document number.

<sup>10</sup> *The City Hall Baltimore*, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

<sup>11</sup> City Hall Archives, 1854-707.

<sup>12</sup> *The City Hall Baltimore*, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

ordinance was passed on May 11, 1854, approving the purchase of this property as the site for the proposed city hall.

Following acquisition of the land, no further action was taken until April 13, 1860, when Mr. Edward Spedden introduced a resolution in the First Branch of the City Council. It directed the city commissioners to advertise in the daily newspapers of the city for a suitable city hall plan. The drawings and specifications were to be submitted on or before June 20 of that year, and the sum of \$400 paid to the architect or architects whose plan would be chosen by Mayor Swann and the City Council.

The day after the deadline for receiving the entries, Mayor Swann wrote to the City Council as follows:

I beg leave to transmit herewith four plans of a City Hall, prepared in accordance with a resolution of your honorable body, approved April 25th, 1860. The details and estimates of the several architects will be found to accompany these drawings.

Upon careful examination of these plans, I deem it my duty to suggest that such alteration in the details may be authorized by your honorable body as will dedicate the entire space of the third floor of the building to the purposes of a grand hall for the meeting of the people on occasions of great public interest. This can be done without interference with the accommodation of the various offices required for the use of the city, and perhaps with decided advantage in many respects.

The four plans which accompanied the Mayor's communication had been submitted by William T. Marshall, William T. Murdoch, John J. Husband, and Thomas and James M. Dixon.<sup>13</sup> All of the plans proposed a basement story of stores or offices which would be rented, thus providing a source of income for the city, in addition to creating greater elevation for the building.<sup>14</sup>

On June 28, 1860, both Branches of the City Council adjourned "at an early hour" for the purpose of examining the plans for the new City Hall, and hearing explanations by the architects.<sup>15</sup> The plans were then referred to the Joint Standing Committee, whose report the following month indicated that "the design, plan and specifications submitted by Mr. William T. Marshall are the best adapted for the wants of this community."<sup>16</sup> The

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 21.

<sup>14</sup> "The New City Hall," *The Sun*, June 22, 1860.

<sup>15</sup> "Proceedings of the City Council," *The Sun*, June 28, 1860.

<sup>16</sup> Resolutions approved July 17 and July 20, 1860, by the First and Second Branches of the City Council, respectively. City Hall Archives, 1860-946.



resolution approved of the selection and provided, in addition to \$400 for Mr. Marshall, the sum of \$300 to each of the other three competitors as remuneration for their "considerable time and labor."<sup>17</sup>

The winning plan of William T. Marshall, as described in *The Sun* of July 18, 1860, specified that the building would be 242 feet 3 inches by 152 feet 4 inches, and would front on Holliday and North streets. The exterior order of architecture was to be pure Corinthian, placed upon a rustic basement which formed the ground story. The foundation was to be of granite and the rest of the building of brick, faced with polished white marble. The two main façades were to be adorned by a portico of six Corinthian columns, flanked by pilasters, two antae, and two columns.

On the interior there were two open courts situated on either side of the rotunda basement. A dome, 36 feet in diameter and raised to the height of 154 feet, was to have capped the rotunda. The lantern was surmounted by a personification of Peace, who held in her hand the laurels of victory and who wore the liberty cap. At each of the four corners of the building were octagonal cupolas measuring 18 feet in diameter, each one being crowned by a flag-staff.

The dome was graced by a colonnade 50 feet in diameter, formed of iron Corinthian columns, supporting a light entablature. Above the colonnade was a balustrade, upheld by iron brackets over a paneled attic. Another balustrade was planned for the top of the dome, so that from either vantage point an observer could view the city and surrounding countryside. The dome itself was fluted, and in the alternate spaces between the ribs there were windows which opened to a bell story.

The first floor was designed as a series of fireproof rooms and vaults for the mayor, various other city officials, and boards. The other rooms on the first floor, as well as the entire sub-basement, were designed as private offices to be rented. One large apartment was to be set aside for the city library.

On the second floor were rooms which housed the two branches of the City Council, the entire wing on Fayette Street being appropriated for their use. In each of the Council Chambers there was a gallery which could be entered from the floor above. The re-

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*

mainder of the second floor, except for that portion occupied by the city commissioners, afforded additional office space.

The third floor, at the Mayor's suggestion, was designed as a general armory and large hall. The armory consisted of six double and two single rooms. The hall, having a capacity of four or five thousand people, was to be used for conventions and town meetings. The two apartments were connected, so that when the need arose for additional space for drilling, benches which filled the hall could be hoisted up to the ceiling and stored in a room above.

The rotunda under the dome rose from the second floor to a height of 75 feet. Light would pierce the rotunda through large windows in each of the open courts, and through 12 smaller windows in the drum of the dome. The drum and peristyle was situated above the roof of the building. The rotunda contained eight Corinthian pilasters, which were of the same height and supported an entablature similar to that which appeared on the exterior of the structure. Between the dome of the rotunda and the outer dome there was a large room designed to house a massive alarm bell. Beneath the crypt of the dome was to be located the apparatus for supplying either steam or hot-water heat to the new city hall building.<sup>18</sup>

On July 23, 1860, the City Council authorized the building of a city hall to cover the block-square site which had earlier been proposed. The ordinance stipulated that the structure had to be fireproof and faced with white marble. No limit was set as to the cost, although it was estimated at \$1,000,000, half of which was to be borrowed from the McDonough Fund.<sup>19</sup>

The McDonough Educational Fund had been left by John McDonough "for the establishment of an institute for the education and maintenance of poor boys." In order to facilitate the erection of a new city hall, the ordinance called for a loan of these funds, rather than their permanent investment in securities. The amount of the loan was not to exceed \$500,000, it being secured by a mortgage upon the ground and building to be constructed.<sup>20</sup>

Although the ordinance was passed, a question arose concerning the issuing of City Hall stock for the money borrowed from

<sup>18</sup> "Local Matters—The New City Hall Project," *The Sun*, July 18, 1860.

<sup>19</sup> City Hall Archives, 1861-286.

<sup>20</sup> *The Sun*, July 12, 1860.

the McDonough Fund. Two months earlier Mayor Swann had appointed a commission to select and purchase the site for a proposed public park.<sup>21</sup> The McDonough Fund was also to have been used to enable the issuance of park stock. If authority were claimed under the ordinance to arrange for financing the City Hall with the amount borrowed from the McDonough Fund, what became of the right to issue stock for a public park? <sup>22</sup>

The controversy over use of the McDonough Fund was short-lived, for in Mayor George William Brown's annual communication to the City Council on January 7, 1861, he revealed that the lowest bid received for the construction of the entire City Hall building was \$648,693.58, almost \$150,000 more than appropriated by the ordinance. Separate bids had also been submitted for the various parts of the work. Since these did not include the marble, the architect's estimate was used for this, but the total still exceeded the appropriation.

For this and other reasons, [wrote the Mayor], no contract has been made by the Commissioners, and in the present condition of the affairs of the city, I recommend that the erection of a City Hall be postponed, and that the ordinance creating the Board, and the supplement thereto, be repealed.<sup>23</sup>

Although Mayor Brown might not have shared his predecessor's enthusiasm for erecting a new building, certainly the impending conflict between the North and South had some influence upon his decision.

In accordance with the Mayor's recommendation, the City Council repealed the act which had provided for a new City Hall and also the borrowing from the McDonough Fund. The repeal ordinance was approved by Mayor Brown on April 18, 1861,<sup>24</sup> just six days after the attack on Fort Sumter had touched off the Civil War.

Previous to the repeal, William T. Marshall, the architect, had made additional drawings and estimates. For his services and for money expended by him, a resolution was approved on March 21, 1862, stipulating that he be paid the sum of \$5,000, on the condition that he deliver all of his detailed drawings, specifica-

<sup>21</sup> J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Baltimore City and County from the Earliest Period to the Present Day* (Philadelphia, 1881), p. 273.

<sup>22</sup> City Hall Archives, 1861-286.

<sup>23</sup> *The City Hall Baltimore*, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*



tions, and estimates to the Mayor. In a letter under the same date, Mayor John Lee Chapman certified that he had received from the architect the material that was in question.<sup>25</sup>

It seems doubtful that the city hall project received any consideration by the City Council during the early, chaotic months of the War. William T. Marshall, the winning architect, who had come to Baltimore in the late 1850s,<sup>26</sup> evidently left the city sometime during 1862 or 1863. Although he is not listed as a member of the Union or Confederate Army during the great conflict, his name no longer appears in the Baltimore city directories, after its initial insertion in the year 1860.<sup>27</sup>

The inability of the winning architect to carry out his City Hall plan by acting as Consulting Architect during the building's construction would appear to be the most plausible reason for a second City Hall competition to be held in 1863. On June 15 of that year, a resolution was adopted authorizing the city commissioners to advertise in the daily newspapers for a suitable plan. The drawings had to be submitted by September 1, and \$400 was to be paid to the architect or architects whose plan was accepted.<sup>28</sup>

This second city hall competition was proposed during Baltimore's darkest hours. At this time, the city was threatened with invasion by Confederate troops, and the ensuing weeks were filled with the tense aftermath of the Battle of Gettysburg. The movement of armies through the state during these months must have been the underlying reason for the failure of the second City Hall competition, for apparently not a single plan was submitted.

In Mayor Chapman's annual communication to the City Council, in 1864, he recommended that a third competition be held. The stipulations of his proposal, including the amount of money to be paid to the winning architect, were identical with the previous competitions. The deadline for entries was July 1, 1864.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>26</sup> Paper delivered by George A. Frederick, Fellow and Associate Member of the American Institute of Architects, to the Baltimore Chapter, p. 29. His notes of the talk are dated October 10, 1912, and the reference states that "Marshall (first name forgotten) established himself here about 1861 or 2." In view of the fact that William T. Marshall is listed in the City Directory in 1860, one assumes that Mr. Frederick's dating should be several years previous.

Frederick's notes are in the possession of Mr. Laurence Hall Fowler, of this city.

<sup>27</sup> *Wood's Baltimore City Directory* (Baltimore, 1860), p. 247.

<sup>28</sup> *The City Hall Baltimore, op. cit.*, p. 28.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 29.

His proposals, in the form of an ordinance, were passed but not fully carried out, so on January 3 of the following year Mayor Chapman firmly set the subject of erecting a city hall before the City Council. He mentioned the immediate need for the structure, and the fact that the architects' plans had been submitted and were awaiting selection.

A Joint Special Committee from both Branches of the City Council met for the purpose of choosing the winning design. Two plans had been submitted by architects Thomas S. Goodwin and G. A. Frederick and the Committee selected Frederick's design as being best suited for the proposed city hall. A resolution which would have paid Mr. Goodwin \$200 "in consideration of the labor bestowed upon [his drawings]," was not acted upon.<sup>30</sup>

In June, 1865, the city commissioners were requested to advertise for sealed proposals in accordance with the plans and specifications furnished by Frederick. The contracts would be awarded to the lowest bidders of known integrity. The measure also provided for the appointment of an architect who would furnish all of the general and detailed working drawings required for the building's construction. He was to receive two percent of the cost of the work as it progressed, payable monthly.<sup>31</sup>

On September 18, 1865, Mayor Chapman was requested to send Frederick's drawings to the City Council, and the architect was summoned to explain and correct his plans.<sup>32</sup> The changes were apparently made, for on October 7 the Registrar was directed to pay to Frederick the sum of \$400 for his plans and drawings of a new city hall. The \$200 for Thomas S. Goodwin, the unsuccessful competitor, was also appropriated at this time.<sup>33</sup>

The winning architect in the third city hall contest, George Aloysius Frederick, then 22, was born in Baltimore on December 16, 1842. His primary education had been received at the School of the Christian Brothers in Baltimore. In 1858, when 16, he entered the architectural firm of Edmund George Lind and William T. Murdoch, where he received his early training.<sup>34</sup> The partnership of Lind and Murdoch, which had begun about 1856,<sup>35</sup>

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 31.

<sup>32</sup> City Hall Archives, 1865-761.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 32.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 1865-762.

<sup>34</sup> *The National Cyclopedia of American Biography* IX (New York, 1899), p. 334.

<sup>35</sup> Paper delivered by George A. Frederick to the American Institute of Architects, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

was dissolved two years after Frederick began his apprenticeship. At that time Mr. Murdoch formed the firm of Murdoch and Richards with William T. Richards, the chief draftsman of the old firm, and E. G. Lind continued on by himself.<sup>36</sup> Frederick furthered his study with one of the two new firms during the period from 1860 to 1862.<sup>37</sup>

The city hall plan of William T. Murdoch, with whom Frederick was associated until 1860 or later, was one of the four submitted in the first city hall competition. Whether Murdoch's unsuccessful attempt, or the nature of his plan, in any way influenced George A. Frederick in his drawings, is not known.

The winning design of architect Frederick called for a building fronting on Holliday and North Streets, 238 feet by 149 feet, just slightly smaller than the earlier proposed structure by William T. Marshall. The style of architecture is French Renaissance of the Second Empire rather than Classical, but the characteristics of the building do not appear to have any exact European prototypes. Although the structure is stylistically similar to the contemporary parts of the Tuileries, the Louvre, and the Hôtel de Ville, all in Paris, it seems to be more directly related to some of the first American examples in this style.

The façade of the City Hall closely resembles the central section of a proposed building for Vassar College, designed by James Renwick, Jr., about 1860 and executed with slight modification the following year.<sup>38</sup> Minor similarities are also found in the Boston City Hall of 1862.<sup>39</sup> Neither of these buildings, however, is capped by a cupola. For this detail it seems likely that the dome of the United States Capitol served as a model for the smaller, more elongated example on the City Hall. Construction of the Capitol dome had begun in 1856,<sup>40</sup> just eight years prior to the final city hall competition. The 30 cast-iron columns of the Capitol dome, like the 12 on the City Hall, were made in Baltimore.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 27.

<sup>37</sup> *The National Cyclopedic of American Biography*, *op. cit.*, p. 334.

<sup>38</sup> McKenna, Rosalie Thorne, "James Renwick, Jr. and the Second Empire Style in the United States," *Magazine of Art* (March, 1951), p. 100.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 97.

<sup>40</sup> Bannister, Turpin C., "The Genealogy of the Dome of the United States Capitol," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* (January-June, 1948), p. 8.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 26.



The design for the City Hall consists of a center structure four stories high, surmounted by a dome and flanked by three-story wings connected laterally to the main element. The center is finished with a plain pediment, originally designed to contain a frieze representing Trade, Commerce, and the Arts, but never executed.<sup>42</sup> The other portions of the building are capped by a mansard roof. Each story is well marked by strong projecting cornices, as well as a broken balustrade, which forms horizontal divisions between the stories and at the base of the roof.

The exterior foundation walls, which are five feet six inches thick, are built of Falls Road bluestone to within 18 inches of the ground. All of the interior walls are of dark red or arch brick, varying in thickness from two feet six inches to seven feet. The widest dimension occurs at the base of the dome where the foundation walls support the central mass.

Above ground, all of the exterior walls are faced with Baltimore County marble, a type of white magnesia limestone referred to as Beaver Dam Marble.<sup>43</sup> The stone was obtained from the John B. Connolly quarries, located near Cockeysville. The basement story is heavily rusticated, and contains four sets of four double-recessed, arched windows. The center section was designed to include five doorways, but at present only the middle one is in use. Bronze doors had been planned by the architect, but the building committee decided upon the use of less-expensive mahogany.<sup>44</sup> The doors were designed and carved by J. M. Sudsberg,<sup>45</sup> with the center one bearing the seal of Baltimore and the Battle Monument. The bronze doorknobs also feature the city seal.

The first, second, and third stories are relieved by projecting pilasters, and fully-detached columns which flank each of the deeply recessed windows. The windows are surmounted by semi-circular archivolts and elaborate keystones. The mansard roof, which is of slate secured by iron purlins,<sup>46</sup> contains dormer windows constructed of marble. Three dormers are grouped on each wing of the main façade, the larger central ones having

<sup>42</sup> *The City Hall Baltimore, op. cit.*, p. 128.

<sup>43</sup> "Exterior Walls of City Hall Have Been Neglected," *Municipal Journal*, July 28, 1928. The report of H. F. Lucke, Jr., Supervising Engineer, to Charles F. Goob, Chief Engineer, dated July 17, 1928.

<sup>44</sup> Carroll Dulaney, *Baltimore News-Post*, June 4, 1936.

<sup>45</sup> "Made City Hall Doors," *Baltimore News-Post*, June 12, 1936.

<sup>46</sup> "Exterior Walls of City Hall Have Been Neglected," *op. cit.*

arched windows, while the others form the shape of elongated ovoids. The corners of the roof on the projecting wings are crowned with ornamental posts which emphasize the vertical element in the structure.

The basement floor of the central section of the façade contains a portico, above which are six fluted composite columns with pilasters of the same order behind them. The columns on the Holliday Street façade are monoliths<sup>47</sup> and support a cornice and balustraded parapet, which forms a spacious balcony on the second story.

The base of the tower, which rises behind the central section of the main façade, is constructed of marble to the height of the colonnade. From this point to the finial of the dome iron was employed, and 12 cast iron columns support the dome on the interior. Housed within the uppermost portion of the dome is a massive alarm bell. The first one, nicknamed "Big Sam," weighed 6,000 pounds,<sup>48</sup> but in 1889 it developed a crack and was replaced in September of that year by "Lord Baltimore," the present 7,403 pound bell.<sup>49</sup>

On the interior of the building all of the first floor offices are designed with lofty ceilings, giving the illusion that they are two stories in height. The second floor, rather than the third as in Mr. Marshall's plan, was designated as a grand hall, later becoming an armory for the National Guard.<sup>50</sup> Rising through the center of the structure, the rotunda has a diameter of 44 feet at its base and a height of 119 feet three inches. In its uppermost portion, four figures representing Commerce, Agriculture, Manufactures, and the Arts are colored on glass which fits into the interior dome.<sup>51</sup> Horizontal divisions of the rotunda agree with the heights of the different stories, with walls on each floor being divided into eight parts. The architectural order of the first story is Roman Doric; of the second, Roman Ionic; and of the third, Roman Corinthian. The rotunda is made of Scagliola, a type of hard, polished plaster work imitating marble. It is also of different

<sup>47</sup> Carroll Dulany, *Baltimore News-Post*, June 8, 1938.

<sup>48</sup> Hans Marx, "Baltimore's Big Ben," *The Sun*, April 28, 1946.

<sup>49</sup> "Caster Settles Old Dispute Over Name of City Hall Bell," *The Sun*, September 18, 1929.

<sup>50</sup> *The Sun*, November 14, 1944.

<sup>51</sup> "Cleaning of City Hall Dome Reveals Art Glass Window," *The Sun*, October 25, 1928.

varieties, with that of the first floor simulating marble from Tennessee; the second, Lisbon; and the third, Siena.<sup>52</sup>

After the city hall design had been approved, and bids based on these plans had been advertised, a Building Committee was appointed by Mayor Chapman in the spring of 1867.<sup>53</sup> One of the first acts of the Committee was the selection of Frederick as Consulting Architect, to assist in carrying out his own plans. On October 18, 1867, the cornerstone was laid with elaborate ceremonies, and during the following year the cellar was excavated, some of the foundation walls erected,<sup>54</sup> and the new City Hall seemed well on its way to completion.

But in the summer of 1869, the ugly charge of "fraud" was publicly hurled at the Building Committee, and on September 28 of that year the members of the committee were asked to resign their positions.<sup>55</sup> This action followed a thorough investigation of the charges, which had to do with the awarding of the building material contracts for marble, brick, lumber, and cement.<sup>56</sup>

In at least one case the architect was consulted, and found partially to blame for confusion in the contract awarding. The investigating committee determined that the firm of F. and H. Wehn, with whom arrangements had been made to supply bricks at \$12.26 per thousand, was not the lowest bidder.

The difficulty arose through Frederick's erroneous use of the term "common red" brick, when he was actually referring to arch or hard brick. The contract was awarded for red brick, although according to the testimony of the superintendent and head bricklayer, not a single red brick was used or intended for use in the structure. When the bids were compared with estimates on arch or hard brick, which was the type really employed, the bid of Mr. John A. Allens was \$1.20 less per thousand than the contract awarded, the total overpayment for the bricks alone being \$8,188.

The Building Committee against which the fraud charges had been placed was unable to account for the mistake, except upon the theory that they were misled by the incorrect designation of

<sup>52</sup> *The City Hall Baltimore, op. cit.*, pp. 125-135.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 37.

<sup>54</sup> "The City Hall Baltimore—Imposing Dedicatory Ceremonies," *op. cit.*

<sup>55</sup> City Hall Archives, 1869-941.

<sup>56</sup> Report of the Joint Special Committee of the City Council, Appointed to Investigate Certain Charges of Fraud, September 29, 1869, p. 15, City Hall Archives.



terms by the architect.<sup>57</sup> In an attempt to avoid such difficulties in the future, the new Building Committee was to include three members who were practical mechanics.<sup>58</sup>

Under the new committee work progressed without interruption, and the dedicatory ceremonies were held on October 26, 1875. Speaking for the people of Baltimore, John H. B. Latrobe, eminent citizen, declared: "We now have an absolutely fire-proof City Hall, whose architecture while ornate, offends no canon of good taste, and which in all its detail corresponds with those models whose beauty has made them classic."<sup>59</sup> Praise for the new structure was not limited to the taste of the local citizenry, for an article in *Harper's Weekly*, prior to the building's completion, referred to it as "the finest municipal structure in the United States."<sup>60</sup>

Most impressive of all the statements made on the day of its dedication was the one concerning the cost of the City Hall. The total expenditure, including ground and furnishings, had been \$2,271,135.64 out of an appropriation of \$2,500,000. This left a surplus in excess of \$200,000 for the city,<sup>61</sup> and gave Baltimore the distinction of having the only public building of comparative size ever to be erected within its appropriation.<sup>62</sup>

During the 75 years since its completion, the appearance of the City Hall has remained relatively unchanged. The only extensive repairs were executed in 1928,<sup>63</sup> after an inspection of the building had disclosed the total disintegration of a number of marble balusters, dentils, and other small ornamental pieces. The damage was attributed to a strong cleaning acid which had been used on the exterior of the building some years before.<sup>64</sup>

The City Hall's existence was endangered in 1904, when the Great Fire came to within a block of the building. It was threatened even more recently when the City Comptroller, in 1944, suggested that a new City Hall be erected on the same site.<sup>65</sup>

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 17.

<sup>58</sup> City Hall Archives, 1869-941.

<sup>59</sup> "City Hall: Tastes Change," *The Sun*, December 10, 1939.

<sup>60</sup> "New City Hall, Baltimore," *Harper's Weekly* (May 1, [1869?]).

<sup>61</sup> "The City Hall Baltimore—Imposing Dedicatory Ceremonies," *op. cit.*

<sup>62</sup> *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, *op. cit.*, p. 334.

<sup>63</sup> "Cleaning of City Hall Dome Reveals Art Glass Window," *The Sun*, October 25, 1928.

<sup>64</sup> "Exterior Walls of City Hall Have Been Neglected," *op. cit.*

<sup>65</sup> *The Sun*, November 14, 1944.

However, it seems likely that the present City Hall building will remain in use, and as a Baltimore landmark, for some years to come just as it exists today—a monumental tribute to the persistence that gave it form, after a struggle which lasted three-quarters of a century.

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Since this article was set in type, announcement has been made in the daily press that the Baltimore Planning Commission, in its long-range capital improvements for the city, has proposed the construction of a modern city hall to be erected on the site of the present structure. Persons interested may refer to "Modern City Hall Proposed by Planning Commission," *Evening Sun*, January 21, 1952.

## MARYLAND BIBLIOGRAPHY: 1951

WITH this issue the editors introduce what, it is hoped, will become an annual feature in the March number of the *Maryland Historical Magazine*. In previous years some attempts have been made to call attention to articles, pamphlets, and books on Maryland history beside publications reviewed. An effort is here made to present a systematic and comprehensive bibliography of all references that treat of some phase of Maryland history published in the calendar year 1951. Excepted only are materials which appear in the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, the *Maryland History Notes*, current governmental publications such as the *Laws of Maryland* and the *Journal of Proceedings of the City Council of Baltimore*, undocumented newspaper articles, and references that have not come to the attention of the compilers. Significant omissions that are brought to their attention will be included in the next annual compilation. Certain works included are by Maryland historians even though their publications do not necessarily relate to Maryland history. Some entries of publications with marginal Maryland interest are included in the hope that the compilers err on the side of completeness; a few words of comment have usually been added to such entries explaining their probable interest to Marylanders. The entries which follow are listed alphabetically under three headings: I. Books; II. Pamphlets and Leaflets; III. Articles. (Entries under the last heading are listed alphabetically *by publication*.) A limited number of reprints of this article may be purchased from the Society.

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<sup>1</sup> Copyright date. Publication date: January 17, 1952.

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## REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

*Impressions Respecting New Orleans.* By BENJAMIN HENRY BONEVAL LATROBE. Edited by SAMUEL WILSON, JR. New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1951. 185 pp. \$8.75.

This handsome volume with scholarly notes and fine offset reproductions of Latrobe's own drawings, maps and sketches, is valuable partly for its comprehensive picture of early nineteenth century America, but chiefly for the insight it gives us into the still far too little known personality of the author.

In 1818 when Latrobe began the first of the seven note books that were to record these last two years of his life, New Orleans was approaching the end of its first hundred years, and had grown from a French provincial town of 8,000 to a bustling port of 40,000. To the original settlers were now added a great influx of Americans, chiefly merchants or traders, and a large number of new French and Spanish refugees.

Among the many travellers who recorded their visits to this kaleidoscopic community with its urbane culture, its dignified public buildings in the French manner, its insidious infiltration of lawlessness and disease from swamp and river, no one has ever quite equalled Latrobe in ability to see, to evaluate, and to express impressions in words. He had been educated in Germany and had travelled on the continent; he had an attractive personality, and numbered some of the leading men in the nation among his friends. Something in his background therefore, or perhaps in his own character seems to have enabled him, even in these last months of a life that had known much of hardship and disappointment to see the world about him in a sort of philosophic perspective.

He had kept diaries all his life, and according to his own account had also destroyed many parts of them. A volume of extracts, now out of print that appeared in 1905 called *The Journal of Latrobe*, contained many passages interesting in themselves, but so rearranged and curtailed as to lose much of their value. This new volume, dealing only with the 1818 and 1820 visits to New Orleans and the journeys back and forth, two by sea, one overland by wagon, sleigh and steamboat — gives this part of the journal in its original form. Full and excellent notes by the editor, Samuel Wilson, a New Orleans architect who has been interested in Latrobe for the past twenty years, add greatly to what is the diary's particular charm — its revealing picture of Latrobe's own serious and sensitive personality.

Everything is of interest to him, not only the surface appearance of

things, which he notes as an artist, not only how things function, which he notes as an engineer, but also, and above all, human behavior. His entries deal with practically everything — navigation, the appearance of birds and fish, the foibles of his fellow travellers, the sights, sounds, smells of the city, French manners, American dwellings, Indian customs, Catholic burial rites, education, morals, religion, superstition, art, poetry, the Battle of New Orleans, numerology — and so forth. The French women he finds beautiful, but, due to the climate, as pale as marble, and tales he hears of their cruelty to their slaves, lead him to distrust them. Yet slavery, for all its inherent viciousness he concedes "must last long, perhaps forever" in this community. Of mosquitoes and yellow fever he writes often, connecting both with the drainage of the city, which he hopes to correct by his water-works. So absorbed is he to the last in the world around him that he gives no hint of any apprehension for himself; his final entry, just before his own death of the fever deals merely with details of the many funerals that have come to his attention while working at the Cathedral.

In matters of architecture, which are of course his chief concern, he continually shows his awareness of both past and future. Quick to criticise whatever he considers either crude or amateurish, he is also quick to admire any detail of the colonial plan or construction that seems to him to promise a valid contribution towards the architecture of the future. "It would be a safe wager," he says "that in a hundred years not a vestige will remain of the buildings as they now stand." And again "we shall introduce many grand and profitable improvements but they will take the place of much elegance, ease and some convenience." Because his occasional prophecies are usually so acute, one among them (though made elsewhere), might again be noted here. He wrote in a passage, otherwise full of self-depreciation, that he believed that somehow or other he would "never while the arts exist in America hold a mean place among the men to whom merit is conceded."

MARY FOWLER

*George Washington: A Biography.* [Vol. III, *Planter and Patriot*; Vol. IV, *Leader of the Revolution*.] By DOUGLAS S. FREEMAN. New York: Scribner's, 1951. xxxviii, 600; viii, 736 pp. \$15.

In these days of precise monographs and short interpretative historical studies, serious question has often been raised as to the purpose served by the multi-volume biography. Skeptics maintain that books are written to be read, and who, except the specialist in the field, will read tomes replete with excessive details which often blur or confuse the main facts rather than clarify and explain their significance? Perhaps the encyclopedic volumes of another day, lacking interpretation, and filled with little but reams of facts loosely held together by the mortar of footnotes, merit no defense today. But there is always a need for history written on a broad canvas, particularly by those who are capable, well-equipped, and willing

to do it. It is well that we have men of this caliber in Dumas Malone and Douglas Southall Freeman, who are giving us the full biographies of two of our greatest leaders, and in such a way that they will be read and re-read.

Dr. Freeman is tying together the great mass of material dealing with Washington into a meaningful, well-written portrait. With the publication of these two volumes he has reached the half-way mark in his projected monumental study of George Washington. His objective is to complete the other four volumes by 1954.

In these two volumes the young Washington steps into manhood; he comes forth as the not-too-successful planter, local patriot, and leader of the revolutionary cause on the battle field. In them Freeman is at his best as a military historian.

Briefly, Volume III covers the years 1759 to 1775. It begins with the marriage of Washington to the well-to-do young widow Martha Dandridge Custis in January, 1759, and ends with a somber note on the last day of the year, 1775, when General Washington is surrounded by the disillusion of defeat and the remnants of a melting army in Cambridge, Massachusetts. The bulk of the volume is devoted to Washington's life as a Virginia planter, burgess, and substantial citizen of the colony. Volume IV deals with Washington the military man and leader of the American cause in its time of adversity from January, 1776, to April, 1778. Here Freeman treads paths that have been well-marked by others. He covers with exacting detail the battles and maneuvers of the American forces, Washington's vexing problems of administration, the jealousies and intrigues among his fellow officers, the burning frictions created by the demands of foreign officers (few of whom Washington found useful), and the overwhelming task of keeping together and supplying a fighting force. The volume closes with the news that on February 6, 1778, France signed a treaty recognizing the independence of the United States.

As Dr. Freeman himself has remarked in his introduction to Volume III, the portrayal of Washington in these volumes is marked by a restrained style, though it is clear throughout that Freeman greatly admires his fellow Virginian. Freeman does not hesitate to criticize when necessary, but criticism is carefully balanced with praise. No compromise is made with the Washington legend. The Washington that emerges from these pages is not a great soldier or strategist. But what is perhaps more important, he is depicted as the man who "knew how to make an army out of a congeries of jealous colonial contingents" (IV, 69). Also, except for rare occasions, seldom does "the demigod show himself to be human"; Washington the man is difficult to discern. This is no fault of Dr. Freeman who has plowed through and used the source materials as no one before him has done.

Freeman's study, based upon a meticulous sifting of prodigious amounts of source material, is a model of scholarship. He succeeds admirably in his objective of presenting the fullest account of Washington yet published. The footnotes will be mined by scholars. Yet, the very strength of this



biography as a work of factual scholarship may prove trying to the general reader. The great minuteness of detail, particularly the extended accounts of military campaigns, may seem tedious to the non-specialist and difficult to digest, but the general reader is oftentimes assisted by careful summaries. Freeman has hewed to the line of presenting only the life of Washington and the events immediately connected with it. This also may appear difficult for the general reader as it leaves little room for interpretation or the placing of events in their full historical context. These are matters of judgment, not faults. The work is a splendid contribution to historical scholarship in its best sense. Let us hope that nothing will be allowed to stand in the way of the completion of Dr. Freeman's magnificent labors, which are doing much to bring about a better understanding of George Washington and his achievements.

ALEXANDER DeCONDE

*Whittier College*

*George Washington and American Independence.* By CURTIS P. NETTELS.  
Boston: Little, Brown, 1951. 338 pp. \$5.

It has been the fashion among historians to deprecate the issues that tore the fabric of empire in the 18th century and to portray the American Revolution as the unfortunate result of Britain's failure to develop early enough the commonwealth of nations idea to which she found her way in the nineteenth century. Professor Nettels revives the animus of old controversies as he blasts this interpretation. He emphasizes that a change had come over British politics with the accession of George III. The new king gradually freed the crown from the domination of Whig leaders who represented the liberal forces in Britain and with the aid of his personal supporters, increased the royal power over Parliament and the country.

The attempt to extend to the colonies the reactionary principles which were gaining ground in Britain produced the American Revolution, according to Professor Nettels, who goes so far as to suggest that the ministry deliberately provoked resistance in Boston so that an occasion might exist for settling the colonial question by force, once and for all. In resisting British measures, American patriots truly stood for liberty against tyranny, just as they claimed.

Most of the book is taken up with a development of this theme during the years from 1774 to 1776. The ministry is described as averse to compromise and determined on ruthless suppression of resistance. As one act after another unfolded this fact to the view of the colonists, American patriots abandoned hope of reconciliation and prepared to fight for independence.

Among those who accurately grasped the situation was George Washington, whom Professor Nettels represents as militant from the beginning and early convinced that reconciliation was impossible. Perhaps the most

interesting sections of the book show how military necessity induced Washington, as commander of the American forces, to take steps and recommend policies which in a practical way led to independence long before the idea was formally entertained by Congress or state governments. As the title of the book indicates, Professor Nettels enlarges on Washington's contribution to the movement for independence.

E. JAMES FERGUSON

*University of Maryland*

*Jefferson and His Time: Volume Two, Jefferson and the Rights of Man.*

By DUMAS MALONE. Boston: Little, Brown, 1951. xxiv, 523 pp. \$6.

With this, the second volume of five, Dumas Malone has assured himself of his right to be named *the* Jefferson biographer of our generation. Since this is a generation blessed with an abundance of good Jefferson studies, Dr. Malone's is no mean accomplishment.

Both volumes of *Jefferson and his Time* bear the hallmark of scrupulous scholarship. In dimensions they compare with Marie Kimball's pioneer volumes, *Jefferson: The Road to Glory*, *War and Peace*, and *The Scene in Europe*; yet, despite obvious and acknowledged indebtedness, Dr. Malone has produced the more valuable study, his especial superiority laying in the roundness of his portrait. Jefferson can, of course, be studied from the personal level, but not for long. Completeness of understanding requires careful political scene setting from the very first, and this is ably supplied by both the Malone volumes that have appeared to date.

Like its predecessor, *Jefferson the Virginian*, Dr. Malone's *Jefferson and the Rights of Man* is a unit in itself, and yet has the rare and costly attraction that makes the reader look forward to the volumes that are to follow. This is not to suggest that the current book is a likely best-seller or a seductive episode in a fascinating serial story. Dr. Malone is writing the definitive biography — "monumental" is the publisher's blurb — and inevitably perhaps the first two volumes betray the weakness so often inherent in such a work. *Jefferson and the Rights of Man* certainly inclines to prolixity and has some passages so condensed as to bewilder the reader (see p. 62). Yet for sheer good writing one will go far to discover a chapter superior to Dr. Malone's delightfully delicate treatment of Jefferson's amorous dallying with Maria Cosway.

However, if the volume reveals some of the faults of the definitive biography, it also shows most of the virtues: a completeness and sureness of scholarship is one of the most transparent features of the book. Furthermore Dr. Malone deserves congratulations on avoiding the all-too-common fault of employing Jefferson's words at the expense of his own. To a somewhat jaded Jefferson student, this is particularly refreshing, in view of a known personal inclination to use the Virginian's words when they seem so completely apposite and superior to modern paraphrase.

The nature of *Jefferson and the Rights of Man* is such that it should attract a vastly wider audience than the preceding volume, confined as that was to Jefferson's essentially Virginian existence. The current volume is blessed with an abundance of material, whereas previously Dr. Malone's gift for hypothesis and creative imagination was seriously strained for lack of other substance in the early period of Jefferson's life. Consequently, many students of the French Revolution as viewed by Jefferson, of the establishment of the new government of the United States, and of the relations of Jefferson with Alexander Hamilton will be deeply satisfied with the enlightening content of *Jefferson and the Rights of Man*. Those who still believe Jefferson a naïve dupe of all things French, or a narrow selfish opponent of Hamilton, will gain much by turning to Dumas Malone's convincing pro-Jefferson treatment. Exposure to Thomas Jefferson can be exhilarating, as *Jefferson and the Rights of Man* amply testifies.

H. TREVOR COLBOURN

*The Johns Hopkins University*

*The Letters of Benjamin Rush*. Edited by LYMAN H. BUTTERFIELD. Princeton Univ. Press, 1951. 2 vol., lxxxvii, 1295 pp. \$15.

These two volumes pay off a debt long overdue to an eminent American patriot, humanitarian crusader, and physician. Although Benjamin Rush has been best known as a physician, medicine could not absorb all the energies of a man bent on ushering in a secular reformation in America, and in his militant drive against misery and ignorance he stirred up a succession of controversies: political, medical, and personal. His work had so divided his countrymen that towards the end of his career he wondered if his life had not been a vanity of vanities. He decided that those who came after him would have to judge as to whether he had added to the knowledge and happiness or to the errors and miseries of his fellow citizens. His heirs, however, were less interested in justifying Rush than in letting the issues of his life recede into the background of public memory, and it is only now with Lyman H. Butterfield's superlative gathering of evidence that it is possible for us to sit in on the judgment Rush expected.

The letters in these two volumes are presented in chronological order and cover the full sweep of Rush's life as medical student, patriot, physician and reformer, through to the rich years of reflection and philosophy. They are remarkably free from conventional platitudes and formalities. Rush wrote because he had something to say and he said it in a forthright and engaging manner. His cosmopolitan relationships and acute observations lend to many of the letters the importance of documents in political and social history. (Those interested in the role of the frontiersman, for instance, can still read with profit the account of the settlement of Pennsylvania which Rush wrote to Thomas Percival, Oct. 26, 1786.) The letters also bring to life the personality of their author, and if Rush was



often stubbornly wrong, harsh in his judgments of others, and too self-righteous, it is also true that he was kindly, generous, and "aimed well."

The final judgment on Rush will undoubtedly give him a prominent place in early American reform movements and the then closely allied medical fields of insanity and sanitation. (Rush's first major controversy took place in the medical department of the Continental Army where he was appalled at the neglect and suffering of American troops because of a lack of sanitation and medical care.) Rush pressed for the abolition of capital punishment and of slavery, treatment of the insane as medical rather than criminal cases, temperance, free schools, education for women, churches for Negroes, and numerous other humanitarian causes. That he was no fair-weather reformer, "*too good to do good*," is apparent in the remarkable series of letters written to his wife during the yellow-fever epidemics at Philadelphia. He worked tirelessly, though sick himself, tending rich and poor alike, spending his own money for medicine to treat the poor, and using his house as a refuge for the less fortunate when the streets of the city were deserted except for those seeking either a doctor or an undertaker.

The letters of Rush are informative, but Butterfield has made them doubly so by furnishing explanatory footnotes for virtually everything likely to be obscure to the reader. In addition, he has furnished brief digests of letters being answered; he has frequently presented evidence which conflicts with Rush's persuasive arguments; and he has included three appendices giving objective treatment to important episodes in Rush's career. The only thing left to be desired, and space requirements probably made it impossible, would be the inclusion of letters received by Rush from correspondents such as John Adams. It is still necessary to consult the rare *Old Family Letters* and read Adams's replies to Rush to fully appreciate their correspondence.

FRANCIS C. HABER

*The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt: [Vols. III and IV] The Square Deal, 1901-1905.* Selected and Edited by ELTING E. MORISON. Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1951. xvii, 710, viii, 728 pp. \$20.

In the absence of a scholarly, multi-volume biography of Theodore Roosevelt, particular interest is centered on the publication of this selected collection of Roosevelt letters for the years of his first, and abbreviated, administration, 1901-05, and early months of the second term. Although the volumes under review pale in comparison to Julian P. Boyd's comprehensive Jefferson project — no incoming correspondence is included, and the outgoing letters comprise only a fraction of those TR actually wrote — they must be regarded as an important contribution. Within the limits established by financial and technical considerations the editors have achieved a high level of scholarship. Notably, the all-important selective process has been characterized by intensive study and mature judgment.

An obvious, and successful, effort to print broad groupings of letters bearing on major events such as the Anthracite Coal Strike and the acquisition of the Panama Canal Zone has been made. Where few letters were available, as with conservation of natural resources, an area which Roosevelt was not to apply himself to intensively until the second administration, practically all have been printed. The shifting nuances of TR's political attitudes are sufficiently revealed, and the incredibly rich warmth, vitality, and intellectual range of his personality are abundantly recorded. What is lacking is the type of material that confirms by repetition or fills out the last, and sometimes important, detail of a composite picture. In consequence, neither the Roosevelt biographer nor the historian of White House politics will be completely satisfied. But the attainment of the objective of representative selection means that social and intellectual historians, political theorists, and the general reading public, can use them with confidence.

It is clear that these two volumes will not resolve the challenging interpretive problem of whether in the final summing up Roosevelt was a genuine progressive or a sophisticated conservative. There is much material in the correspondence supporting either point of view, and a considered evaluation must await a comprehensive work that relates TR to his times and places the whole of his career in historical perspective. Nevertheless, this collection is expressively revealing of many of his attitudes and activities during the so-called Square Deal years. Whatever the ultimate interpretation, it is evident that Roosevelt's was a highly complex personality. He was inordinately self-centered; yet he was out-going, sympathetic, and sometimes humble. He was possessed an obsession for righteousness and an almost limitless capacity for self-delusion. He had a romantic attachment to the frontier; but his letters reveal him as an upper middle class easterner, distrustful and unable to understand Bryan and the southern and western agrarian elements which he represented. Even so, as Associate Editor John Blum's tightly drawn essay on Roosevelt's early disposition to reform the railroad rate structure indicates, TR was more amenable to the changing currents of the day than were most of his political fellows in the basically conservative Republican party.

The same superb craftsmanship which marked the earlier volumes has been maintained in these. A word by word check of fifty-odd letters in the Roosevelt Letterbooks housed in the Library of Congress, for example, turned up only one minor error. The annotations are helpful, especially as they identify lesser known correspondents. Roosevelt was in the main an expository writer, and it is usually possible to comprehend the nature of the incoming letter from his reply. In some cases, though, more extensive notes would have enhanced understanding. The division of each volume into five sections variously entitled "Changing the Guard," "A Square Deal for America," etc. may contribute to an already patently fine job of bookmaking, but is not always valid, for the correspondence cannot be classified so neatly. The index, although not explanatory, is accurate and complete, while a chronological table of Roosevelt's daily activities is informative.

WILLIAM H. HARBAUGH

*Northwestern University*



*Thomas Pownall: British Defender of American Liberty.* By JOHN A. SCHUTZ. Glendale, Cal.: Athur H. Clark Co., 1951. 340 pp. \$10.

Thomas Pownall (1722-1805) was as ambitious in politics as his biographer is in research. He enjoyed the distinction of being the outstanding "American expert" of his day in the British Isles. He was the familiar of Franklin, Pitt, and Burke, but he was never quite at their level in expressing himself. By this "expertness" he expected to reap great reward. In this he was disappointed, and because of personal pique in consequence, commingled with the unfortunate accident of ignoble birth, he never attained real greatness. However, he came just short of it. He was governor of three American colonies, Member of Parliament both as Whig and Tory, author of many books and pamphlets, member of the Antiquarian Society, and Fellow of the Royal Society. He finally realized part of his original ambition by marrying, at the age of sixty-two, a land-owning widow; he was thus, at last, a country gentleman, but his greatest political triumph at that time was no more than a sporadic intrigue on behalf of Francisco de Miranda, scapegoat of Latin American independence and of Chatham's diplomacy.

The subtitle, *Defender of American Liberty*, gives the theme of the book. Pownall spent most of his life in the American cause, not, as has been said, without hope of recompense, but nonetheless wholeheartedly. He fathered the idea of a commonwealth of nations under British protection a hundred years before it happened. He suggested an "Act of Union" with America in 1767. He publicly predicted American independence well before it took place. He anticipated modern political thinking to the point of advocating a world union for adjudication of disputes and for outlawing war. He published a very useful book on the eve of the Revolution embodying many of his ideas about America and including the famous map of North America by Lewis Evans. The second edition appeared in 1950. He was indeed, as Dr. Schutz calls him, "Secretary Extraordinary" to the American cause.

Besides being an adequate biography of a little known but important colonial figure, this work is unusually penetrating and free from the limitations of scholarly monographs. In it one sees the ideal of research and "the play of intelligence" over the materials. Dr. Schutz' late friend and teacher, Louis Knott Koontz, whose last task was proofreading the manuscript, was justly proud of his student's work.

JAMES HIGH

*University of Washington*



*The Papers of Henry Bouquet. Volume II, The Forbes Expedition.* Edited by S. K. STEVENS, DONALD H. KENT, and AUTUMN L. LEONARD. Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1951. xxxiii, 704 pp. \$7.

Col. Henry Bouquet, a native of Switzerland, was one of the first great military figures in American history, one of the most colorful and successful soldiers of the colonial period. He played a leading role in England's effort to extend her rule to the lands beyond the Alleghenies. His part in the Forbes Expedition of 1758, which resulted in the capture of Fort Duquesne (on the site of the modern city of Pittsburgh), is pictured in this group of papers drawn mainly from the collections of the British Museum.

This second volume in the projected series is published before the appearance of the first chronological volume because it is hoped additional earlier materials will turn up to shed light on the more obscure phases of Bouquet's career. The present work covers the seven months of June-December, 1758, including preparations for the Forbes Expedition, its progress north and westward through the frontier area, and its occupation of the French fort at the junction of the Allegheny and Monongahela Rivers. There are letters, reports, and allied items, all transcribed with great care; and in the numerous instances when Bouquet wrote in French, both the original text and excellent translations are provided. Complete footnotes are appended to each paper, not only clarifying individuals and places, but also relating the particular item to other documents in the series. In cases where letters are known to have been written, but have not been located, headings have been inserted, with abstracts or summaries indicating the probable nature of their contents.

Maryland figures little in the story, in spite of the fact that the success of the Forbes Expedition was so vital to the welfare of her western settlements. There are thirty-odd references to Governor Horatio Sharpe, and the one letter from Bouquet to Sharpe (dated June 13, 1758, and found in the Gilmore Papers at The Maryland Historical Society) is reproduced as the last of eleven illustrations.

This volume represents a high level of editorial scholarship. It makes available to students of the French and Indian War a vast store of important material. It is one more evidence of the superior work of the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission in gathering, preserving, and disseminating historical information.

WILLIAM D. HOYT, JR.

*Loyola College*

*Papers of Sir William Johnson, Volume X.* Edited by MILTON W. HAMILTON. Albany: Univ. of the State of New York, 1951. 998 pp. \$5.

Long recognized as a major collection of colonial Americana, the Sir William Johnson Papers have been substantially increased in size and value with the appearance of Volume X and the promise of two additional volumes in the future. Nearly a decade of work has gone into the collection of these documents which were taken chiefly from such depositories as the Huntington Library, the Canadian Archives, and the Public Record Office. The tenth volume covers the period from 1758 to 1763 with more than 400 documents that describe specifically Johnson's Indian policy and his relations with the commander-in-chief, Jeffery Amherst. More material is also available on the Pontiac Conspiracy, frontier land speculation and Indian trade, and the ever vital problem of colonial administration. These papers on Johnson's superintendency point up again the adroit way he handled his office and how great a need there is for a re-examination of his activities.

Dr. Hamilton has maintained the same high standards of editorship as his predecessors and deserves warm praise for his work in bringing Johnson's correspondence into more general use. His footnote references to letters previously printed will aid historians considerably in using the Papers until the long awaited index appears. The inclusion of twelve illustrations enhances the beauty of an already attractive volume.

JOHN A. SCHUTZ

*California Institute of Technology*

*The Life of Pierre L'Enfant, Planner of the City Beautiful, The City of Washington.* By H. PAUL CAEMMERER. Washington: National Republic Publishing Co., 1950. xxvi, 480 pp. \$10.

Dr. Caemmerer, a recognized authority on the history of our Federal City, prepared this volume for publication in 1950, the 150th anniversary of Washington. The book is "based on original sources" — a work of twelve chapters which took the author to France. It begins with an account of L'Enfant's father, Painter in Ordinary to the French King, member of a family of artists, and descendant of people of culture. L'Enfant in 1771 learned battle-scene and fortification drawing from his own parent at the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture, and later seems to have come under the influence of Le Nôtre, greatest of French landscape planners.

In 1776 L'Enfant entered the American scene by volunteering as an officer in the Revolutionary War, in which he was wounded at Savannah and in which he became known as the "Artist of the Revolution." To George Washington he was "Captain Lanfan." Like one of the all-round men of the Renaissance, L'Enfant in addition to his military prowess could

design and execute medals (Cincinnati), buildings (Federal Hall), city plans (Washington), fortifications (Mifflin), landscapes (West Point), military badges (Purple Heart), seals (United States), and other works of art.

In his pages devoted to the Washington plan the writer makes his hero come alive in the various letters which are quoted. For the important work of designing a capital George Washington "chose" L'Enfant, who wrote with perhaps greater wisdom than he knew that "the plan should be drawn on such a scale as to leave room for that aggrandisement . . . which the increase of the wealth of the Nation will permit it to pursue at any period however remote." The preliminary sketch presents the germ of his idea and looks something like the canals on Mars. However, the author well brings out the debt which L'Enfant owed to great European city plans, like Karlsruhe. On the other hand Jefferson's scheme for a plan of Washington indicates the ancient, but unprogressive, gridiron, laid out on graph paper.

The book is loosely organized: Some chapters are broken up into sections which appear to be unrelated. For instance, the parts entitled "Land Bounty" and "Fête in Philadelphia," are tacked to the main part of the chapter about the Cincinnati. The last chapter is disrupted by nearly a whole blank page of text (359). Also, the author's theory that the plan of Canberra, Australia (1911) is derived from the L'Enfant plan is far fetched. If the reader compares each, Canberra will be found to form a series of cart-wheels and octagons laid out in irregular fashion, a scheme unlike Washington. Although inadequate in its analysis of city planning, this book is valuable for its presentation of new material.

HENRY CHANDLEE FORMAN

*Gail Borden, Dairyman to a Nation.* By JOE B. FRANTZ. Norman: Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1951. xiii, 310 pp. \$5.

This book presents another story in the history of American ingenuity and entrepreneurial success. It tells the story of a frontiersman of great perseverance who tried a dozen enterprises before he succeeded in founding an industry. It relates the story of Gail Borden, founder of a business in America's food industry which today sells annually a half billion dollars worth of products.

Except for a sketch written a few years ago by Clarence R. Wharton, Borden has been neglected by biographers. Moreover, very little mention has been made of him in studies of American industrial history. Professor Joe B. Frantz of the University of Texas, therefore, renders an important service in presenting this well-written, documented work on the struggles and achievements of an important pioneer industrialist. With an easy and lively style he carries the reader to the England, Old and New, of Borden's ancestors, to his birthplace in the Chenango Valley, on to his



frontier peregrinations and the road to his leadership in political affairs of Mexican-held and independent Texas. He tells vividly how Borden during the Civil War achieved his greatest success in the condensing of milk and then a few years later laid the foundation for an enterprise which indeed made him "dairyman to a nation."

This biography shows tremendous research. The author strove to recreate the life and times of Borden by visiting every place where he lived and worked and by consulting numerous documentary sources in library and archival collections in Texas, New York, and Washington, D. C. Professor Frantz has succeeded in recreating an important figure long lost in American history.

HAROLD T. PINKETT

*National Archives*

*Brooks Adams, Constructive Conservative.* By THORNTON ANDERSON.

Ithaca: Cornell Univ. Press, 1951. xiv, 250 pp. \$3.75.

This is not so much a biography as an analysis of the ideas and theories of a brilliant but erratic historian who came from a distinguished family. It is not easy to appraise the varied and iconoclastic writings of so unorthodox a thinker as Brooks Adams, but Mr. Anderson has done the job creditably, showing restraint, balance and objectivity. More details concerning the personal and professional career of Adams might have shed additional light on what conditioned the extraordinary pattern of thought which governed this self-styled conservative.

That Adams made a contribution to social theory cannot be denied, but his influence upon contemporary thought has probably been slight. His generalizations, supported more by intuition than by data, were usually tailored to serve some practical purpose. His theories on education were good, but more important was his explanation for the rise and decay of civilizations. Adams believed in the dynamic character of civilization, but as the years passed his optimistic faith in democracy yielded to one of black despair. He distrusted both the proletariat and the capitalists; and although opposed at first to socialism, he finally accepted some of its features as an alternative to revolution. He recognized the importance of a planned economy with public corporations for the utilization of natural resources. In his theories on administrative leadership there was an undertone of fascism. Adams was a staunch nationalist and imperialist, opposing the League of Nations and World Unity. His fear of the competitive threat which Asia held for the United States may not prove groundless. His admiration for military leadership and his unreasoning fear of feminism are among the strange quirks in the thinking of a mind that never lacked for ideas. Many are the facets in the thought pattern of Brooks Adams, but they are dispassionately and lucidly scrutinized by Mr. Anderson.

ALMONT LINDSEY

*Mary Washington College of the  
University of Virginia*

*The Colonial Records of South Carolina. The Journal of the Commons House of Assembly, November 10, 1736-June 7, 1739.* Edited by J. H. EASTERBY. Columbia: The Historical Commission of South Carolina, 1951. xii, 764 pp. \$12.50.

Congratulations to South Carolina for this portly, readable volume, *The Colonial Records of South Carolina*. The Historical Commission and Mr. J. H. Easterby, their editor, had to do an enormous amount of work in order to put before us the Journal of the Commons House of Assembly from 1736 to 1738. Before the first volume could be published they must set the policy for the entire series. Although South Carolina is as wealthy in colonial records as she is in colonial history, she has, up to now, been rather unsuccessful in getting them into print. Naturally there were printings of the statutes, but, save for them, very little appeared before 1830. The Historical Commission, and its predecessor, the Public Record Commission, set up in 1891, completed the task of getting transcripts of the English records of the colony. In 1905 they were given the further duty of "publishing official records and historical material," and their first publications, "Journal of the Commons House of Assembly . . . September 20, 1692 . . . [to] October 15, 1692," and the companion journal of the Grand Council appeared in 1907. Both were edited by the all but indispensable Alexander S. Salley. Every state ought to have a Salley or a Dielman.

Recently the publication policy was re-examined and slightly changed. Now the plan is to publish first all the existing records of the Commons House, and to follow them with the Council records, transcripts in the Public Record Office in London, and the Indian Trade papers. It was decided to dispense with volume numbers, and to distinguish the volumes by the dates of the General Assembly. In fact, their statement of the way in which they plan to print the 1951 version is so well put that it must have extensive quotation, direct or indirect. Marginal summaries have been omitted. "Superior letters have been dropped to the normal line. The clerical symbols, &, y, and . . . [a specialized form of the letter p] have been rendered respectively and, th, and per, pre, or pro as the context required, except that in the combination &c., the ampersand has been retained. In such words as dutys, boundarys, and countrys, the y has been changed to i; otherwise the original spelling has not been altered. All abbreviated words, except those in common use, and those standing for the forenames of persons, have been expanded to their full forms. Punctuation has been added occasionally for the sake of clarity, and the lower-case initial letter of nouns has been capitalized wherever contemporary usage sanctioned the change. . . ." In short, their object was "to present the text as far as possible as it would have been presented by a contemporary printer."

Mr. Easterby, like this reviewer, who is editor of the *Archives of Maryland*, has had the help and counsel of a publications committee. Robert L. Meriwether put his knowledge of 18th century South Carolina at Mr



Easterby's service. The preface of this volume contains the indispensable information that the manuscripts appearing in it are in the custody of the Historical Commission in Columbia. Even with a text so carefully prepared as this one, some will want to see the originals.

The text of the proceedings of what Maryland would call the Lower House extend over 733 pages. It is obvious that a digest is neither possible — nor desirable. But some points made must be mentioned. Like Maryland, South Carolina assumed that the inhabitants had the rights of Englishmen, and that its Commons had the same rights in imposing taxes on them that the English House had over Englishmen. The resolutions quoted in full on pages 701-702 could have come straight from Green's *Votes and Proceedings*. It is interesting, too, to notice that our Governor Francis Nicholson was also Governor of South Carolina after he left Maryland.

The index does not fully unlock for the student the abundance of material in this record. There is a full list of all bills and all acts, which again shows the resemblance between Maryland and South Carolina. One bill established a ferry, another licensed hawkers, pedlars, and petty chapmen. It could be wished that some of the entries had been subdivided, for in many cases there are so many references after one name that the very abundance is discouraging. After William Bull, Jr., for instance, there must be more than a hundred, after John Dart there are over two hundred, and after Charles Pinckney and Benjamin Whitaker almost three hundred. But that is a minor objection.

Again congratulations to South Carolina; perhaps another volume will be proffered soon.

ELIZABETH MERRITT

*Heavens on Earth, Utopian Communities in America, 1680-1880.* By MARK HOLLOWAY. New York: Library Publishers, 1951. xvi, 240 pp. \$4.75.

*Heavens on Earth* tells the fascinating story of the hundred-odd Utopian communities that were founded in America — for the most part during the first half of the nineteenth century. Although the origins of Utopia go back at least to Plato and to some of the early Christian mystics, it was the socialism inspired by the French Revolution and the growing dissatisfaction with industrialism that probably inclined some one hundred thousand Americans to adopt the communal pattern of life.

The American Utopias included the religious societies of the Shakers who, as Mr. Holloway points out, were "the first to show that communities could be prosperous, neat, orderly and of long duration," as well as the socialist communities maintained by the followers of Robert Owen and Charles Fourier. But by mid-century the vogue of the Utopian communities was passing. Oneida, established by John Humphrey Noyes, the self-styled perfectionist and advocate of free love or complex marriage, and



the author of tracts on birth control and eugenics, was the last of the important Utopias. After 1880, the concluding date of Mr. Holloway's volume, Utopia became a literary fad and the subject of a host of novels, while the actual communities disintegrated. Although seldom a success, the Utopias contributed something of value to American life — especially in their example of reformist zeal and idealism. Mr. Holloway's book is not new in its interpretations nor exhaustive in research but is a popularly written narrative treatment which should prove interesting to a wide variety of readers.

ARTHUR A. EKIRCH, JR.

*American University*

*The French in America, 1520-1880.* By the DETROIT INSTITUTE OF ARTS.  
Detroit, 1951. 207 pp.

This catalogue for "an exhibition organized by the Detroit Institute of Arts to commemorate the founding of Detroit by Antoine de Lamothe Cadillac in the year 1701" is beautifully illustrated with over one hundred plates of paintings, drawings, maps, sculpture and *objets d'art*, contains a foreword by E. P. Richardson, director of the Institute; a concise essay by Paul M. Grigaut on "The French in America"; and extensive descriptive notes on the great exhibition. It is far more than a catalogue and is in fact an illustrated history of the French influence on American life worthy of a place alongside the larger works of Howard Mumford Jones, Gilbert Chinard, and others.

Maryland has deep and ancient ties with France, and this is well recognized in the catalogue. Mention is made of the celebrated Betsy Patterson and her romantic connection with Jerome Bonaparte, of Maximilian Godefroy and his work here as an architect, of the St. Mary's Seminary, and of other things, each in its proper perspective and with regard to its importance to the main story.

From our special point of view, however, there are some things which might have been added. The French training of John Carroll, the first Bishop of the United States, in the Jesuit school at St. Omer was certainly significant and might have been included in the chapter on "Some Americans in France." Also, the full influence of St. Mary's seminary might have been emphasized by pointing out that no less than five of the French Sulpician priests who founded the seminary in the 1790's were subsequently consecrated as Bishops. Godefroy's fine St. Mary's Chapel was chosen as an illustration of his architectural prowess, but his imposing Unitarian Church and splendid Battle Monument could just as well have been mentioned. Moreover, room might have been made for the accomplishments of the Huguenot-descended Latrobes of Baltimore. However, the great field covered by the exhibition required a strict selection and such omissions were undoubtedly matters of choice. Maryland and Baltimore can well be proud of its French background, and this booklet gives us full place in the annals of "The French in America."

WILBUR H. HUNTER, JR.

*Peale Museum*

*They Gave Us Freedom.* Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg and College of William and Mary, 1951. 66 pp.

This book forms a catalogue of an exhibition of works of art held in Williamsburg and is, according to the preface by the President of William and Mary College, "to be regarded not as inclusive but as selective, directing special attention to the part which Virginia and her capital city of Williamsburg played in the events of the years 1761-89." "In a sense," he continues, the collection is "a homecoming," because in that historic town were "nurtured" many of the leaders presented in the exhibition. Kenneth Chorley, president of Colonial Williamsburg, who wrote the foreword, calls attention to the fact that it is "the *ideas* which emanated from Williamsburg that gave it the enduring significance which makes it worthy of so much attention today."

The reader will find the text especially well integrated with the illustrations, but on closer study will realize that here painting and sculpture are set forth as history, not as art. For instance, the explanatory text for the painting, "The Battle of Bunker Hill, by John Trumbull," commences with the words, "'To arms! To arms! The British are coming!' shouted Paul Revere . . .," followed by a description of the beginning of the Revolution. The Bunker's Hill illustration itself, as well as some others, is misty and dark. Clear reproductions could have been found, such as the Bunker's Hill picture in Virgil Barker's *American Painting* (1950).

This work forms a galaxy of pictures of the founders of our country, supplemented by historic documents, such as the Virginia Declaration of Rights. It well fits the Williamsburg pattern, "That the future may learn from the past."

HENRY CHANDLEE FORMAN

*The Bay.* By GILBERT C. KLINGEL. New York: Dodd, Mead, 1951. x, 278 pp. \$4.

Geologists tell us that the Chesapeake Bay is a "drowned valley" in the Atlantic Coastal Plain, a plain which stretches from the Piedmont country in the west to the Continental Shelf some seventy miles east of Cape Henry. They point out that the plain is composed of two sections, a "submerged" portion and a portion above water, but geologically speaking there is little difference between the two. In the same way, if we reflect a bit, the whole plain, above and below water is our natural habitat. The water moderates our climate, fosters industry and commerce, provides a magnificent harvest of unsurpassed food, offers pleasure to those who swim, boat or sunbathe, and disciplines our spirits with its rains, fogs, mosquitoes and jellyfish. The Bay is of the essence of life in Tidewater Maryland and Virginia and we are its children.

Unfortunately not many of us savor the full quality of our environment because we are too busy, and we take it too much for granted. Gilbert C.

Klingel is one of those who has tasted of the whole substance of the Chesapeake Bay country, and his delightful essay will open your eyes to the "universe of life above and below the Chesapeake." A naturalist by inclination, Mr. Klingel has walked the shores, waded the marshes, sailed on the broad waters, and even sat upon the very floor of the Bay in diving dress. His special knowledge of plants and animals has sharpened his perception beyond that of the casual inhabitant and this book reports what he has found. We are taken into the gloomy depths of the Bay and introduced to our submerged fields and their livestock, to the marshes and beaches where water and sky meet, and into the air to experience the free domain of duck and eagle. We are shown the mysterious "paths" through the water which the fish of the Bay follow for their own inexplicable reasons, the extraordinary life cycles of worms, sponges and oysters, the ridiculous fiddler crab, the sights, sounds, smells, colors, winds and tides of our country and many other things which you must read for yourself. The fine drawings by Natalie Harlan Davis add just the right amount of stimulation to your mind's eye as you travel with Mr. Klingel above, on and under the Bay. The book is permeated with a humble sense of the wholeness of all life from the smallest to the greatest creature, not excepting man; when you have finished, you will know more about yourself as one of the larger animals living in the Bay country, and you will have more respect for your neighbors, the innumerable flying, swimming, floating and growing things who share it with you. By all means read, *The Bay* before vacation time comes around — you have been missing half of the fun all these years by not knowing what was going on around you.

WILBUR H. HUNTER, JR.

*Peale Museum*

*They Put Me Here.* By IRMA ROHLFING ANGELL. Baltimore: Privately Published, 1951. 71 pp. \$2.

Mrs. Angell has done here what few people have taken the time and trouble to do. She has delved into and written down in a very readable account something of her background and that of her ancestors. Mrs. Angell's claim of an ordinary background is certainly too modest. How many can claim as varied a heritage, so romantic an ancestor as Luigi Pipino, a mother who might have become a famous singer, or part of a childhood spent in a house later occupied by Wallis Warfield? Readers who enjoy personal narrative will find pleasant reading in this little book.



*The Colonial Clergy of Maryland, Delaware, and Georgia.* By FREDERICK L. WEIS. Lancaster, Mass.: Society of the Descendants of the Colonial Clergy, 1950. 104 pp. \$3.

This is the fifth of a series of publications of The Society of the Descendants of the Colonial Clergy. In two of the previous publications Dr. Weis devoted his efforts to the colonial clergy and churches of New England and of the Middle and Southern Colonies. Dr. Weis has done a splendid job in the publication under review and must have spent a great deal of time in his researches.

For each of the colonies of Maryland, Delaware, and Georgia he has included a brief sketch of every clergyman in the colonies from the time of settlement until 1776. The clergymen are listed alphabetically by name, followed by date and place of birth, education, churches served, denomination, and date and place of death. All denominations are included. In addition the author has included an alphabetical list of the churches in each of the three colonies (including Friends Meetings in Maryland) showing the date of establishment, parish, and denomination.

It is unfortunate that Dr. Weis failed to indicate his sources of information as they would be of great interest to most students of the colonial period. The reviewer has spent a considerable amount of time in research on the early Jesuit Fathers and Catholic institutions of Maryland and also has a nodding acquaintance with the early Anglicans, and, in his opinion, Dr. Weis has done a most competent job. There is no doubt that he has made a fine contribution to ensure the perpetuation of the memory of these Christian leaders of colonial times.

EDWIN W. BEITZELL

*Genealogical Guide — Master Index of Genealogy in the Daughters of the American Revolution Magazine, Volumes 1-84, 1892-1950.* Washington D. A. R. Magazine, 1951. 137 pp. \$4. (paper), \$5. (cloth).

The Elizabeth Benton Chapter, Kansas City, Missouri, has performed a notable service to readers of the *D. A. R. Magazine* in compiling this *Genealogical Guide* to its first 84 volumes. The first and major section lists family names from "Aaron to "Zuver" with volume and page references. "Bible and Family Records" are separately indexed in the second section. The final index contains "Federal and State Records." Maryland is creditably represented with eleven entries. The *Genealogical Guide* is certain to enhance the usefulness of the files of the *D. A. R. Magazine*.

*Ancestral Roots of Sixty Colonists Who Came to New England Between 1623 and 1650.* By FREDERICK L. WEIS. (2 Ed.) Lancaster, Mass.: 1951. 160 pp. \$3.

The appearance of this small book fills a long-felt need in the researches connected with the genealogy of New England families. For the first time a compact, concise and easy to use tabulation of the English ancestry of sixty New England settlers is available for interested searchers. The material is well-presented, and cross-references between the various lines are uniformly presented, thus making it easy for the searcher to notice inter-relationships and follow collateral lines, when they are relevant to the subject. None of the material presented is a result of original research, but extensive reference notes make it easy for those interested to locate the original source which Dr. Weis has used. He has incorporated in this book the most valuable results accruing from the latest foreign researches, particularly those which have been reported in the *New England Historic Genealogical Register* within the past few years. This has the value of widely distributing the latest and most relevant findings of present-day genealogists. It will thus be found that many previously obscure connections are accounted for, and some crooked lines are made straight. It is to be regretted that several discrepancies are noticable in the dates given; it therefore behooves the user to compare Dr. Weis' chronology with that of other authorities. It should also be noted that, apparently, free use has been made of Jordan's "Your Family Tree" whose vagaries are well-known. It is to be hoped that, in the cases where this is the only reference cited, Dr. Weis has carefully sifted the evidence in the light of more authoritative presentations. This book will furnish a valuable starting point for researches that can and should be buttressed by frequent references to collateral sources.

JOHN D. KILBOURNE

*The Historical Society of  
York County*

*Impounded Waters. A Novel of John McDonogh.* By MARION MURDOCH LAIRD. [Wilmington:] Hambleton Co., 1951. 114 pp. \$3.

This book is a defense of one of America's merchant-princes and philanthropists by his great-great niece. The author says on page 26 that "this is not a historical novel in any way," and yet she will be unable to deny that her work falls into that classification. Touching on the Indian Wars, the Revolution, and the War of 1812 — that period in American history when our ships covered the world and land was bought for a song — she becomes deeply involved with history. From imaginary conversations and scenes and with the introduction of a love theme, the book may certainly be called a novel. Whether it is called a fanciful biography or a historical novel, the book does carry out its author's objective of conveying a very

much pleasanter impression of John McDonogh than that given in another recent biography.

McDonogh the business man, McDonogh the rejected lover, McDonogh the visionary educator of slaves, has had need of friends and defenders. McDonogh the philanthropist, whose whole life was disciplined to the making and the leaving of great wealth, spoke his own best defense when he wrote his voluminous will.

The average Marylander knows McDonogh only as the founder of McDonogh School, in the outskirts of Baltimore. He was born here and he is buried here but his fifty years residence in New Orleans would almost justify his being called an inhabitant of that place. However, regardless of which city claims him, Mrs. Laird, in this nicely published little portrait, makes us aware of John McDonogh as a man, a man surrounded by an aura of romance.

ROSAMOND R. BEIRNE

*Memorials and Portraits of John McDonogh.* By ARTHUR G. NUHRAH.  
New Orleans: Gulf Publishing Co., 1951. 24 pp.

The growing literature concerned with the career and benefactions of John McDonogh of Baltimore and New Orleans is now enriched by a compilation recording known memorials and portraits of him. The sixteen illustrations include photographs of portraits and statues of McDonogh and scenes at the McDonogh School in Maryland. The accompanying text is brief and appropriate to the purpose of the pamphlet.

*Two Hundred Years in Cumberland County.* Carlisle, Pa.: Hamilton Library and Historical Association of Cumberland County, 1951.  
388 pp. \$3.50.

The reader acquainted with the ordinary run of souvenir booklets and country histories will be surprised and refreshed when he examines this one. In honor of the bicentennial year of Cumberland County, Pennsylvania (1950), and of its seat of justice, Carlisle (1951), a committee of the local historical society have assembled here 120 documents and 118 plates, for the purpose of narrating the social history of the community.

The quality of selection is high. Many of the documents are newspaper reports, and so it should be; letters, journals, diaries, memoirs and printed ephemera are also freely used. The plates do not illustrate the literary record but rather complement it. Such is the historical wealth of the community and such the taste and industry of the committee that every item used is a Cumberland County document contemporary with the matter it records. Though some readers will regret the omission of a basic text, others will be content to browse.

The materials are arranged chronologically in nine chapters, beginning



with "Plowshare and Tomahawk, 1731-1774," and closing with "The Trolley Car and the Flying Machine, 1885-1917." A modest 65 pages, or seventeen per cent of the book, was set aside at the end for "a brief historical sketch of each sponsor who would supply the material"; thus the financial problem, almost always embarrassing to local historians, was met with dignity.

Though this is consistently a Cumberland County book it is also one that may be scanned with pleasure by all who are interested in the older America, and it may be imitated with advantage by any American community. Years ago Professor J. Franklin Jameson proposed as an ideal for the work of county historical societies the motto "American history locally exemplified." In this volume the Hamilton Library and Historical Association attains that goal.

HENRY J. YOUNG

*Pennsylvania Public Records Division,  
Harrisburg*

*The History and Background of St. George's Episcopal Church Fredericksburg, Virginia.* By CARROL H. QUENZEL. Richmond: 1951. 124 pp. \$1.50 (paper), \$2.50 (cloth).

Dr. Carrol H. Quenzel, professor of history at Mary Washington College of the University of Virginia, has made a valuable addition to the growing study of the history of the Episcopal Church in Virginia. Works such as this one, on a local level, supplement the more extensive — and therefore less detailed — study of Dr. B. M. Brydon, the second volume of whose *Virginia's Mother Church* is soon to appear.

In the briefer space of some seventy-three pages, Dr. Quenzel has interestingly set forth the history of St. George's Church from its colonial origins in the early eighteenth century to the present time. Following this narrative portion of the book, the author, in several appendices, lists the vestrymen, burials, and other facts connected with the history of the church — information that will be of value and interest to the historian and genealogist. A thorough index makes the book easily usable, while its heavy documentation attests to the scholarship of the author. Indeed, as Dr. Brydon has said, St. George's Church "has been fortunate in securing a trained historical student to search out, assemble and evaluate the facts of its past history."

KENNETH L. CARROLL

## NOTES AND QUERIES

---

*Governor Plater*—There has been considerable disagreement concerning the burial place of Maryland's Governor, George Plater III, who served for a short term (1791-2). Those contemporary newspaper accounts which survive give varying reports of the elaborate funeral procession described in the article on "Sotterley," XLVI (September 1951), 173-188. Recent discoveries have thrown new light on the ultimate disposition of the Governor's remains which it might be well to relate in the hope of clarifying the issue.

According to James W. Thomas, who wrote *Chronicles of Colonial Maryland*, the Governor's remains "were attended by the . . . council and . . . citizens . . . to Sotterley . . . there to be deposited in the family vault." There was not and never had been any vault on Sotterley grounds. No other member of the Plater family had ever been buried there. George Plater II was buried in the church yard of the Chapel of Ease near Sandy Bottom, "the four mile run church."

Local tradition has it that the Governor was buried in open ground in the rose garden of Sotterley. Within recent years Mrs. J. H. Lilburn remembered that her grandfather, Dr. Briscoe, who was then owner of Sotterley, would not allow his children or grandchildren to play under the cherry tree near the garden because Governor Plater was supposedly buried there. Miss Maria Briscoe Croker recounts this memoir in her *Tales and Traditions of Old St. Mary's*, p. 36.

Actually this explanation came nearest the truth for in plowing up earth just beyond the garden wall near the said cherry tree, the overseer and field workers of Sotterley have recently uncovered the four corners of a coffin joined with the nails in common use in early 19th century. A careful search of the surrounding earth was made but yielded no other clue. It seems safe to conclude, however, from the evidence at hand in addition to the weight of traditional accounts, that this was the burial place of one of Maryland's early Governors.

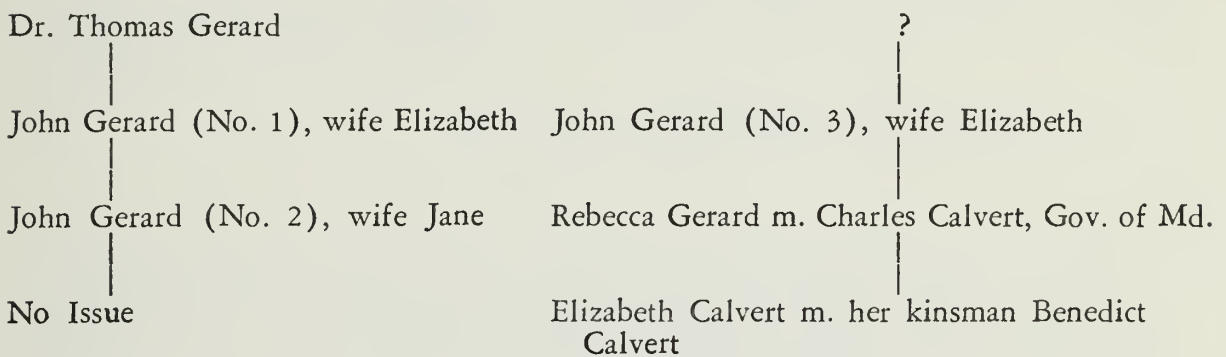
Marian McKenna,  
Scarsdale, N. Y.

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*John Gerard (Gerrard), Three Gentlemen of the Same Name*—The following is submitted as a brief correction to the interesting and informative article, "Thomas Gerard and His Sons-in-law," by Edwin W. Beitzell,

that appeared in the September number. John Gerard (see page 200 in article; No. 2 below) is the only grandson with the surname Gerard. Quoting Mr. Beitzell, "John died . . . leaving a son John" *correct*. An error follows, continuing—"and daughter Rebecca," *false*; John (p. 202, No. 9 and No. 1 of the text below) was not the father of Rebecca. Please refer to the text below, John Gerard No. 3, for the correct parentage of Rebecca Gerard, wife of Charles Calvert, Esq., Governor of Maryland.

Continuing with Mr. Beitzell's text: ". . . The second John had no sons and his only child, Elizabeth, married Benedict Calvert in 1748." Here the error is not only in identity but in generations. The "second John" of Mr. Beitzell's text and No. 2 below had no issue. Elizabeth, the wife of Benedict Calvert, was the granddaughter of John Gerard (No. 3 below) of Prince George's County. The following explains these relationships:



Thomas Gerard, gentleman and doctor, "of Mohut in the Colony of Virginia formerly of Saint Clements Manor in the County of Saint Maries" named his young son, John Gerard, (No. 1 below) of Westmoreland County, Va., and his second wife, Rose,<sup>1</sup> executors of his will.<sup>2</sup>

For the sake of clarity we shall identify the following Johns numerically:

John Gerard<sup>3</sup> (No. 1) died in 1678 and was survived by his widow Elizabeth<sup>4</sup> and a son, John<sup>5</sup> (No. 2) of Cople Parish in Westmoreland County, Va., who died without issue in 1711, leaving a widow, Jane.<sup>6</sup>

John Gerard<sup>7</sup> (No. 3) is identified historically as the father-in-law of Charles Calvert Esq., governor of Maryland (1720-1727). Regretably, to date, no relationship has been established between him and the family of Dr. Thomas Gerard.

<sup>1</sup> *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, XXXIII (1925), 302; XXXVI (1928), 296.

<sup>2</sup> Wills, Liber 23, 6, 45 ff., Hall of Records, Annapolis.

<sup>3</sup> Testamentary Proceedings, Liber 5, 37, Hall of Records, Annapolis; *William and Mary Quarterly*, Ser. 1, IV (1895), 80; XV (1906), 191.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, IV (1895), 36-37; V (1896), 142; XXIII (1914), 114-115; *Virginia Magazine*, XXXIII (1925), 300.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, XXIV (1916), 152; XXXIII (1925), 300; *Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, IV (1922-23), 172; *William and Mary Quarterly*, Ser. 1, V (1896), 68-69; XV (1906), 191.

<sup>6</sup> Deed Bk. D No. 2 1710-1713, Land Office, Annapolis.

<sup>7</sup> Copy of Register of Queen Anne Parish, Prince George's County (St. Barnabus Church), p. 254, Maryland Historical Society.



John Gerard No. 2 and 3, were contemporaries, the latter's age is established ". . . as about 26 years . . ." in 1698.<sup>8</sup> He is designated gentleman, a member of the Episcopal Church,<sup>9</sup> apparently he had a knowledge of law<sup>10</sup> and is further described as merchant.<sup>11</sup> He is identified almost altogether with Prince George's County, Maryland, where he acquired large properties by purchase.<sup>12</sup> He resided in a six room house on a tract called "Cool Spring Manor" near Upper Marlboro in 1705.

John Gerard (No. 3) died in 1715<sup>13</sup> and was survived by his widow, Elizabeth,<sup>14</sup> and their only child Rebecca,<sup>15</sup> who married when she was 16, the Governor of Maryland, Charles Calvert, Esq.,<sup>16</sup> kinsman of the Proprietary, Charles Calvert Fifth Lord Baltimore.<sup>17</sup>

Governor Charles Calvert and Rebecca Gerard, his wife,<sup>18</sup> were survived by a daughter, Elizabeth,<sup>19</sup> who married her cousin, Benedict Calvert of Mount Airy, Prince George's County.

Eugenia Calvert Holland,  
4713 Roland Ave., Baltimore.

<sup>8</sup> Testamentary proceedings, Liber 17, fol. 162, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

<sup>9</sup> Copy of Vestry Record of Queen Anne Parish, Prince George's County (St. Barnabas Church), p. 1 ff., Maryland Historical Society.

<sup>10</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, XXVI, 533-534; Testamentary Proceedings, Liber 21, 52 and 267, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

<sup>11</sup> Provincial Court Judgements, Liber PL No. 3, 432-434, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

<sup>12</sup> Prince George's County Deed, Liber C, 146-148 and Liber E, 169, 173, Land Office, Annapolis; *Archives of Maryland*, XXXIII, 519, 534, 606, 618; XXXVIII, 272-273.

<sup>13</sup> Testamentary Proceedings, Liber 22, 479; Box 3-folder 57 (Bond 1715), Inventory Accounts (1715), Liber 37C, 1; *Ibid.* (1717-1718)—Liber 39C, 92, 126-127; *Ibid.*, Liber 38A, 122-123.

<sup>14</sup> See Note No. 13; *Archives of Maryland*, XXXIII (1717-1720), 212.

<sup>15</sup> Copy of Register of Queen Anne Parish, Prince George's County (St. Barnabas Church), pp. 250, 254, Maryland Historical Society.

<sup>16</sup> *Maryland Historical Magazine*, I (1906), 289-290; III (1908), 220, 321; XVI (1921), 317; XXXII (1940), 117-118, 128-134; *Archives of Maryland*, XXXIV, 486.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 3-4.

<sup>18</sup> Warrants CC No. 9, 43-44, 117, Land Office, Annapolis; Calvert Papers, No. 882, Rent Rolls Calvert County (1651-1723), Prince George's County (1650-1723), p. 212, Maryland Historical Society. *Archives of Maryland*, XXXIX, 186, 309; J. Baldwin and R. B. Henry, *Maryland Calendar of Wills* (Baltimore, 1925), VII, 127; Testamentary Proceedings, Liber 30, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

<sup>19</sup> Copy of Register of St. Anne's P. E. Church, Annapolis, 433, 450; Maryland Historical Society; *Ibid.* Vestry Record, 246-247; Probational Court Record, Liber EI (1744-1749), No. 8, 449, Hall of Records, Annapolis; R. Winder Johnson, *The Ancestry of Rosalie Morris Johnson* (Philadelphia, 1905), pp. 23-24; S. H. Lee Washington, "The Royal Stuarts in America," *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, CIV, 175, fn 4; *Archives of Maryland*, XLIV, 463, 538-539, 671-673; Accounts: Liber 14, 359, Liber 24, f. 178, Hall of Records, Annapolis; *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XLV (1950), 274.

*Associate Editor*—Mr. Francis C. Haber, a graduate student at the Johns Hopkins University and a part-time member of the Society's staff since July, 1951, becomes Associate Editor of the *Magazine* with this issue.

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*Western Maryland Issue*—The next number of *Maryland Historical Magazine* will be devoted principally to contributions of Western Maryland interest. The publication of this issue will provide a fine opportunity for members to introduce the work of the Society to non-members in that part of the State. A few extra copies of the *Magazine* will be available for single sale.

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*Golts, Kent County*—Request information about the naming of this village.

Ralph C. Golt,  
3612 Washington Blvd., Indianapolis, Ind.

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*Harman Family Reunion*—The first Harman Family Reunion will be held on June 15 at the Wesley Grove Methodist Church (on Dorsey Road between Route One and Harmans, Anne Arundel Co.). An all-day program is planned with a family picnic to follow a church service at 11:00 A. M. Organization and historical meetings will be held in the afternoon. Interested persons should address Mr. W. Gray Harman, 815 First Place, Plainfield, N. J.

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*Link (Linck)*—Will pay \$20. for information establishing parentage of Nicholas Link (Linck), born ca. 1750. In Frederick Co. 1775; in Augusta Co., Va., 1782. Died Va. 1816.

Mrs. W. R. Eckhardt, Jr.,  
920 Hawthorne St., Houston 6, Texas.

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*Weakly*—Request information concerning Otho Weakly, who married Eliza ————. Their children were Samuel (b. Sept. 3, 1814), John, Ann, and Leven. Moved to Ohio in 1824.

W. S. Hunter,  
Brown Univ., Providence 12, R. I.

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*Webster*—Desire information concerning descendants of John Webster who died in 1753 in what is now Harford Co.

Mrs. Webster Barnes,  
Journey's End, Aberdeen R. D. 2, Md.

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*Archives and Genealogy Courses*—The eighth *Institute in the Preservation and Administration of Archives* will open on June 16, and continue through July 11, 1952. In addition to lectures, the Institute provides laboratory experience in the National Archives, the Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress, and the Maryland Hall of Records. Special lectures and laboratory experience will be provided for those concerned mainly with the administration of current records. Ernst Posner, Professor of History and Archives Administration at The American University, will be director of the Institute.

The third *Institute of Genealogical Research* will be offered from June 16, through July 3, 1952. Under the direction of Meredith B. Colket, Jr., of the National Archives and Records Service, it will provide lectures on sources and methods of genealogical research and laboratory work.

Further information may be obtained from the Office of the Director, School of Social Sciences and Public Affairs, The American University, 1901 F Street, Northwest, Washington 6, D. C.

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## CONTRIBUTORS

MRS. WILLIAM ROBERT MILFORD, a keen and enthusiastic collector and student of glass, discussed products of Amelung's factory in one of the Society's Illustrated Afternoon Talks on American Arts and Crafts earlier this month. ☆ Associate Professor of Speech at Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio, MR. GUNDERSON is preparing a volume to be entitled, "The Log-Cabin Campaign." ☆ For her many contributions to the *Magazine* and frequent assistance to its editors, MRS. WILLIAM F. BEVAN could properly be called a "Contributing Editor." ☆ MR. LOW, since 1948 Professor of History at Maryland State College, Princess Anne, earned the Ph. D. degree at the State University of Iowa. He has published numerous articles and reviews in scholarly journals. ☆ MR. PERLMAN, an artist in his own right, and a candidate for the Ph. D. in fine arts at Johns Hopkins, is preparing a detailed study of George A. Frederick and his career as architect.



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# MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

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JUNE, 1952

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*Annual Subscriptions to the Magazine \$4.00. Each issue \$1.00. The Magazine assumes no responsibility for statements or opinions expressed in its pages.*

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FRED SHELLEY, *Editor*

FRANCIS C. HABER, *Associate Editor*

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The Magazine is entered as second class matter, at the post office at Baltimore, Maryland, under Act of August 24, 1912.

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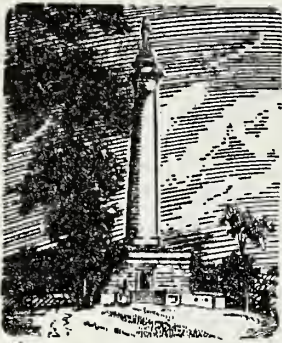
GEORGE L. RADCLIFFE, President; JAMES W. FOSTER, Director

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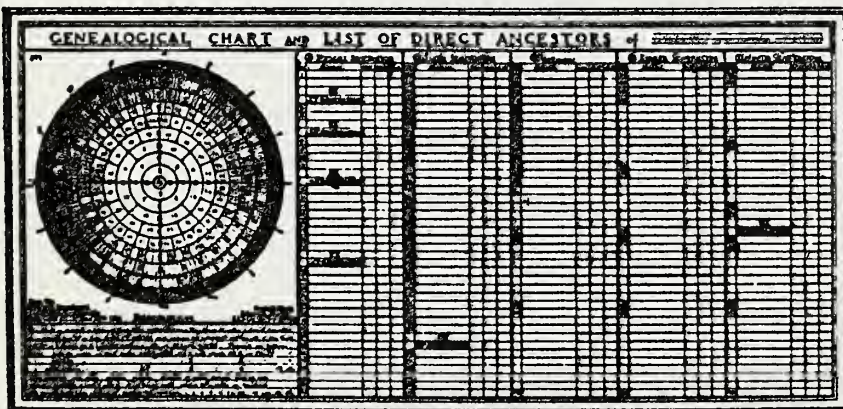
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# MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

*A Quarterly*

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Volume XLVII

JUNE, 1952

Number 2

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## JOHN GRUBER AND HIS ALMANAC

By DIETER CUNZ

TALK to a man who grew up in Maryland, central Pennsylvania, Upstate New York, or West Virginia and mention the city of Hagerstown, and he will probably say: "That's the place where the almanac comes from, isn't it?" Ask him about John Gruber, and he will have an expression of embarrassed ignorance on his face: "I never heard of him. What did he do?" The famous *Hagerstown Almanack* has survived John Gruber by almost a century, but the memory of its founder has faded more and more. It was different a hundred years ago. In an obituary of John Gruber we read: "The Almanack has rendered the name of John Gruber a household word."

John Gruber came to Western Maryland in the wake of the first wave of German immigration that was channeled into the Middle Atlantic section during the 18th century. Unlike most other German immigrants, the Grubers were a family of some distinction, and they can be traced back to the time of the Reformation. The

line of male descent of the Grubers, as far as their names and birth dates are known to us were: <sup>1</sup>

1. Andreas Gruber, 1549
2. Ludovicus Gruber, 1574
3. Johannes Gruber, March 10, 1607
4. Philipp Hermann Gruber, at Marburg, April 6, 1635
5. Eberhard Ludwig Gruber, at Stuttgart, June 12, 1666

The son of the last mentioned, John Adam Gruber, the grandfather of the Hagerstown printer, was the immigrant ancestor. John Adam Gruber emigrated to Pennsylvania in 1726 and settled in Germantown. At the same time two other Grubers (Henry and Christian) entered the colony, yet there is no evidence that they were brothers or relatives of John Adam. John Adam Gruber (August 6, 1693-May 5, 1763) married Anne Elizabeth Stiefel. Their only son was John Eberhard Gruber who was born in Germantown, February 20, 1736. A physician and for some time Justice of the Peace, he spent the greater part of his life in Strasburg, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. In his declining years he moved to his son's home in Hagerstown where he died on August 11, 1814. His marriage to Anna Christiana Pein (1738-1824) was blessed with eight children. Their eldest son was John Gruber, the printer.<sup>2</sup>

John Gruber was born in Strasburg, Pa., on October 31, 1768. At the age of 15 he started his apprenticeship in the shop of a well-known Philadelphia printer, Charles Cist. Since he was in

<sup>1</sup> A good deal of genealogical information was gathered from the 100th anniversary issue of the *Hagerstown Almanack* (1897) and from an article by Cyrus H. Eshelman, "John Gruber and the Hagerstown Almanac," published in *The Morning Call*, Allentown, Pennsylvania, December 3, 1938. C. H. Eshelman also compiled all available information on John Gruber's descendants which is preserved in an unpublished manuscript in the vertical files of the Maryland Room of the Enoch Pratt Library, Baltimore.—Through correspondence with Dr. Kurt Stahr of the State Archives in Marburg, Germany, we were able to add a few additional data. The church register of the Lutheran congregation in Marburg indicates that Ludwig (Ludovicus) Gruber in the year 1632 moved from the town of Zella in the County of Ziegenhain to the City of Marburg. His son Johannes Gruber, married to Margarethe Juncker, was a tanner and tawer. Their second son was Philipp Herman Gruber: he was married to Maria Catharina Bachmann of Biedenkopf, Nassau. Their son Eberhard Ludwig Gruber was one of the leaders of a great revivalist movement in Southwestern Germany. See *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, (Tübingen, 1927/32), III, 298. *Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche* (Leipzig, 1896/1909), IX, 204. Christian Kolb, *Anfänge des Pietismus und Separatismus in Württemberg*, (Stuttgart, 1902).

<sup>2</sup> Following are the children of John Eberhard and Anna Christiana Gruber: John (1768), Daniel (1770), David (1772), Ludwig (1773), Charlotte (1776), Charles (1777), William and Elizabeth, twins (1780).

feeble health during his youth he went to the West Indies and at the age of 21 (1789) was engaged as a compositor of a French newspaper in Santo Domingo. However, the benefits of the salubrious insular climate were more than offset by the terror of the notorious uprisings which shook the island during these years. Thus, within a year Gruber returned home and for some time lived in Reading, Pa., where in 1793-94 he was co-editor of a German newspaper, the *Neue Unpartheyische Readinger Zeitung und Anzeigs-Nachrichten*.<sup>3</sup> Here he came into contact with General Daniel Hiester, who until 1796 lived in Berks County.<sup>4</sup> General Hiester urged him to move to Hagerstown and establish there a German newspaper. In June, 1795, the German settlers of Western Maryland were presented with the first issue of *Die Westliche Correspondenz und Hägerstauner Wochenschrift*, a weekly which from then on was published regularly for at least thirty years.<sup>5</sup> Politically speaking, John Gruber, like most other Germans, was in the Republican camp and he began immediately to beat the drum for Thomas Jefferson. General Samuel Ringgold,<sup>6</sup> who was very active in Maryland politics at that time, prevailed on him to add an English companion to his German weekly, again for the main

<sup>3</sup> See Clarence S. Brigham, *History and Bibliography of American Newspapers 1690-1820*, (Worcester, Mass., 1947), II, 970.

<sup>4</sup> Daniel Hiester (1747-1804), the son-in-law of Jonathan Hager, founder of Hagerstown, moved to Hagerstown in 1796 and represented the Western Maryland counties in the U. S. Congress from 1800 until his death in 1804. See *Dictionary of American Biography*, IX, 9-10.

<sup>5</sup> See Felix Reichmann, "German Printing in Maryland, A Check List, 1768-1950," *Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland, Reports*, XXVII (1950), 27. We are greatly indebted to Dr. Reichman's thorough scholarship. No other state has such an excellent and comprehensive compilation of German imprints. Cf. also Brigham, *op. cit.*, I, 267. A. Rachel Minick, *History of Printing in Maryland, 1791-1800* (Columbia University Thesis, 1948), 110, 169, 182, 186-187, 190-197. Oswald Seidensticker, *The First Century of German Printing in America, 1728-1830* (Philadelphia, 1893), 141, 170. J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Western Maryland* (Philadelphia, 1882), II, 1141. After 1814 the paper was published by Gruber & May. Earlier historians (Scharf, Seidensticker) mention a Gruber weekly "Deutsche Washington Correspondent" or "German Washington Correspondent" which evidently is an inaccurate way of referring to the *Westliche Correspondenz*. The earliest issue preserved is the one of September 28, 1796 (in the Berks County Historical Society, Reading, Pa.); the latest number known is dated December 30, 1825, 31st year, no. 27 (in the Library of Congress). Scattered issues are to be found in the Library of Pennsylvania State College and in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. If our readers know of the existence of additional copies we would appreciate the information.

<sup>6</sup> Samuel Ringgold (1770-1829), a native of Washington County, was for several years a member of the Maryland State Senate and served in Congress from 1810 to 1815 and 1817 to 1821. See *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1949* (1950), p. 1740, and E. R. Bevan, "Fountain Rock, The Ringgold Home in Washington County," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XLVII (1952), 23 f.



purpose of rallying votes behind the Jeffersonian banner. Thus, Gruber (as we know from indirect sources) started his *Sentinel of Liberty* which however soon turned out to be a failure and had to be discontinued because a competitor in Hagerstown was already publishing a similar paper for the Republican cause.<sup>7</sup> Like most other newspaper publishers, Gruber operated a job printing business and in his print shop trained a good number of young printers. Their names may be found in the histories of Maryland, Virginia, and Pennsylvania—Ambrose Henkel, Jacob Dietrich, Adam Glossbrenner, and Laurentz Wartmann.<sup>8</sup> In 1811 Gruber took his son-in-law, Daniel May (married to his daughter Rebecca) into his business; from 1814 to 1829 the company sailed under the flag of Gruber & May.<sup>9</sup> Aside from the newspaper a considerable number of book publications came from the Gruber press. We have a list of 38 titles of German books which in Gruber's lifetime were published by the firm, all between the years 1796 and 1831. Most of his German books have a religious flavor: the Heidelberg catechism, Luther's catechism, hymn books, minutes

<sup>7</sup> Until now all historians (not excluding Dieter Cunz in his *Maryland Germans*, p. 175) have somewhat carelessly accepted the existence of the *Sentinel of Liberty*, although there is only indirect and posthumous evidence of its publication. The only sources for the existence of the paper are the two obituaries of John Gruber, one published in the *Hagerstown Almanack* of 1859, the other in the *Hagerstown Herald of Freedom and Torch Light*, January 6, 1858. In the latter it is stated: "... to the encouragement and support of the paper, a Republican Feast was given by General (then Major) Ringgold and his political friends. But the enterprise was not sufficiently encouraged and was discontinued, about a year afterwards, the principles of the Republican party being fully sustained by Thomas Grieves, Esq. who had published an English paper in the county. . . ." We searched through the Grieves paper, the *Hagerstown Maryland Herald*, 1797-1804, yet we found no indication of the existence of the *Sentinel of Liberty*. We found three references to Gruber (August 20, 1801, April 7 and 14, 1802), which, however, did not mention the *Sentinel*. With all this we do not wish to say that the *Sentinel of Liberty* did not exist. In view of the fact that so many issues of the Western Maryland press have disappeared, it is not surprising that no copy can be found now. It is understandable that the *Maryland Herald*, a competitive paper, never mentioned it in order not to advertise it. If the *Sentinel* was published, it must have been before 1810, i. e. before Samuel Ringgold became a general. For ascertaining some of these facts the author is indebted to Mr. Fred Shelley, Dr. Clarence S. Brigham, and Miss A. Rachel Minick.

<sup>8</sup> We owe thanks to Mr. Klaus G. Wust for informing us about the existence of Henkel papers which contain material on John Gruber. Duke University has a collection of Solomon Henkel papers (Solomon, the brother of Ambrose Henkel), 105 items from the years 1801-1860. Mrs. H. I. Tusing of New Market, Virginia, has collected and preserved a collection of several hundred Henkel items (letters, books, etc.). Unfortunately we could not include this material in the present article.

<sup>9</sup> We do not know exactly when and why Daniel May left Hagerstown, but we know that in 1840 he began publishing a newspaper in York, Pennsylvania, the *Republican Herald*.

of a Lutheran conference in Virginia, of the Reformed Church in Pennsylvania, the constitution of the Theological Seminary of Gettysburg, a few sermons and addresses. There are a few collections of Christian stories and a primer for children. In 1799 he published a German version of the Constitution of the United States.<sup>10</sup> We do not know how many English books and pamphlets he may have printed, but we may safely assume that he was as firmly established in English as in German printing. In fact, in the course of his life he had to shift more and more from German to English. The original German settlers of Western Maryland who had immigrated between 1730 and 1775 retained their German identity rather strongly for the first and second generations. Then, between 1820 and 1840, many indications point to the fact that their Americanization made rapid progress. The history of the Gruber publications bears this out. We have no German book publication from his print shop after 1831. Beginning in 1822 he added an English edition to his German almanac and around 1830 he must have discontinued publication of his German weekly *Die Westliche Correspondenz*.

John Gruber's fame rests not on his book publications nor on his weekly papers. His great reputation inside and outside of Maryland was established through his yearly almanac which was first published in 1797 and has since appeared in an unbroken series to the present day. It began as a German calendar called *Der neue nord-americanische Stadt-und Land Calender auf das Jahr 1797*; in 1815 the name was changed to *Volksfreund und Hagerstauner Calender*. Under this title the German edition was published continuously until 1917.<sup>11</sup> For the year 1822 Gruber published his almanac in a German and an English version, the English under the title *The Hagerstown Town and Country Almanack* which outlasted its older German brother and is still alive today.<sup>12</sup> It is

<sup>10</sup> For a complete list of Gruber's book publications in German see Reichmann, items 40, 47, 59, 60, 72, 80, 88, 89, 100, 102, 105, 106, 107, 118, 124, 126, 140, 141, 143, 162, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 193, 194, 195, 196, 204, 205, 213, 220, 221, 229, 232, 233, 239.

<sup>11</sup> See Reichmann, items 41, 48, 52, 58, 67, 73, 76, 81, 84, 90, 96, 101, 108, 114, 119, 125, 130, 136, 144, 152, 163, 174, 187, 197, 201, 206, 209, 214, 216, 222, 225, 230, 234, 237, 240, 243, 246, 253, 258, 263, 272, 278, 281, 285, 290, 294, 299, 307, 309, 311, 314, 319, 324, 334, 340, 347, 352, 357, 363, 368, 374, 382. These are the editions which were published in Gruber's lifetime. The last issue prepared by John Gruber was the calendar for 1858, published late in 1857.

<sup>12</sup> The *Almanack* is preserved in some rather extensive collections in private and public libraries. The earliest copy in existence is the second edition of the almanac



the second oldest almanac in the country still published—second only to the *Old Farmer's Almanac* (Boston, 1792).

The principal item of the almanac was the calendar table for the various months. To this were added some standing features such as a multiplication table from two times two up to 25 times 25; figures on the size, distance, revolutions etc. of the earth, moon and sun; mileage from Hagerstown to all major cities roughly within the triangle Boston-Pittsburg-Charleston; court calendars for Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Virginia; astronomical data and weather forecasts.

All this was interspersed with brief articles which must have had a broad educational effect on a rural population that was not exposed yet to the modern avalanche of dailies, magazines, radio, and television. These bits of prose gave to the *Hagerstown Almanack* its characteristic and unmistakable profile and they reflect undoubtedly also the character of its founder and editor. In his later years John Gruber liked to recall the fact that in his youth he attended the funeral of Benjamin Franklin, "the brother printer." Gruber's obituary, published in the 1859 edition, mentions that his almanac "bears a striking analogy . . . to that published by Doctor Franklin, . . . which embalmed so much of the proverbial wisdom of that distinguished patriot and philosopher." Indeed, anyone who reads these simple reflections, essays and exhortations of the *Hagerstown Almanack* will immediately be reminded of the sage of Philadelphia. John Gruber was for the German farmer of the Potomac region what Benjamin Franklin was for the country at large.

Gruber offered to his readers a simple, practical, homespun wisdom. "Education is a companion which no misfortune can depress, no crime can destroy, no enemy can alienate, no despotism can enslave. At home a friend, abroad an introduction, in solitude a solace, in society an ornament. It chastens vice, it guides virtue, it gives at once grace and government to the genius."<sup>13</sup>—"Cook-

in German (1798), in the Library Company of Philadelphia. One of the best collections is held by a descendant of John Gruber, Mr. Arthur D. Gans (4007 Edmondson Avenue, Baltimore), who has a complete set from 1841 to the present and of earlier issues those of 1801, 1806, 1807, 1808, 1809, 1816, 1817, 1820, 1822. Other good collections are in the Enoch Pratt Library, the Maryland Historical Society, the Library of Congress, the Peabody Institute, the Hagerstown Public Library and the Gruber Almanack Company (9 N. Potomac Street, Hagerstown).

<sup>13</sup> The maxims of the *Almanack* did by no means always grow in Gruber's own garden. Very often he lifted them from other publications without indicating their



ing is an art. It is a big job. It takes more loftiness of character to do it well than it does to conduct a government or convert the heathen—which is probably the reason so many women prefer to engage in the last two occupations.”—“ You know how a fine-looking horse or cow appears with one of its eyes missing? Well, that’s just about the way a farmyard looks without a flowerbed.”—On every page we find good and useful advice: “ Never work the garden when the soil is wet.”—“ The manure pile is the farmer’s bank.”—“ The hand is the best hoe for weeding onions.”—“ Keep the poultry house clean and neat, and your efforts will be amply rewarded by the egg basket and by kind words from your friends.” In almost every issue there are headings such as “ The Poultry Yard,” “ The Busy Bee,” “ Household Recipes,” “ For the Housewife,” “ Farm and Garden,” “ Making Farming Profitable,” “ What should be planted this month.” Constantly recurring are also medical and veterinarian advice, exhortations to hygiene, cleanliness, frequent changes of clothing, sleeping without bed curtains, plenty of fresh air etc. He tries to explain to his readers some basic facts of biology and natural science: “ The Inward Parts of the Human Body,” followed soon by the “ External parts of the Human Body.” There are a few sketches on botany, zoology and geography. These geographical excursions were often coordinated with current political events: thus in 1847 and 1851 we find articles on “ The Oregon Territory,” in 1848 on “ Mexico,” and in 1847 on “ California.” We know it will cause grief to modern Californians if we tell them that Gruber at the first mentioning of the word California decided to add a helpful (though erroneous) footnote: “ California, a Peninsula of North America, in the Pacific Ocean, separated from the west coast of North America by the Vermilion sea, or the gulf of California.”

One of Gruber’s pet ideas seems to have been the promotion of wine-making. He advocated raising of grapes not only because it would add a new color to the agricultural palette of his region but also because he hoped that an innocuous drink like wine would replace the harmful whisky. Editorials against drunkenness, occurring again and again, are symptomatic of Gruber’s temperate attitude, yet they also indicate that alcoholic leanings were not

origin. For the above mentioned item on education we were able to establish the source: Joseph Addison’s *Spectator* of November 6, 1711. The general complexion of Gruber’s publication reminds us very often of the “ Moral Weeklies ” of the 18th century.

completely unknown among the sturdy and God-fearing German farmers of Western Maryland. One of the earliest issues, the almanac of 1807, carried an "Ermahnung zum Weinbau" in which he advocated growth of the "herrliche Wein, welcher die Menschen gesund, stark, fröhlich und fleissig hält; dahingegen der stinkigte Whisky den Körper und die Seele schwächt."<sup>14</sup> He explained that the best European wine countries were situated between the 35th and 50th degrees, which seemed to him a good reason to expect a drinkable wine from the hills along the Potomac and the Shenandoah. After 1822 he extolled the blessings of wine-growing in both languages:

By cultivating the vine you will promote your own interest, promote temperance, and banish the whiskey still and brandy bottle, for who would drink either, if a good, wholesome and cheap wine was to be had. . . . Cultivate the grape and promote temperance—or distill whiskey and make drunkards [1839].

These tirades against heavy drinking show that Gruber was concerned not only with the beehive, poultry yard and manure pile of his farmers but also with their morals and manners. A few headlines of his editorials may illustrate this: "Honoring Parents," "Suggestions to the Young," "Chapter on Quarreling," "Pay your Debts" and many other pieces in this vein. A little essay "The Wife" praises the blessings of a "prudent and industrious wife," a timeless bit of prose, today as good as it was in June, 1848. A little sermon of 1854 classifies people into three ascending groups of moral value: "Live—Let Live—Help Live," and gives the palm to the last category as the "truly benevolent men." Gruber had very strong religious convictions, but he wanted to see practical results of religion. "Religion that does not make a man honest, is good for nothing." The wonders of nature showed to him more vividly than anything else the power of the Lord. The little article on the functionings of the human body closed with an admonition to be thankful to the Almighty. Gruber was in complete harmony with God, with nature, with the world at large and with his immediate surroundings. "Everything in nature tends to the good of mankind. . . . Thousands of objects unite to nourish, clothe and furnish thee with innumerable com-

<sup>14</sup> ". . . the magnificent wine which keeps men healthy, strong, happy and industrious, whereas the stinking whisky weakens body and soul."

forts and conveniences . . . Thou canst not be too grateful to thy Creator for the manifold benefits allotted to thee" (1846).

The *Hagerstown Almanack* reflecting so clearly the mentality of its founder and editor is interesting not only for what it contains but also for what is missing in its columns. Conspicuous is the complete lack of interest in Germany. After 1850 the German-Americans, even in the second and third generation, were deeply aroused by political events in the German Reich. John Gruber's almanac does not reveal a trace of sentimental attachment to the country from which his grandfather had emigrated. Once the calendar published a little article on a German village in Ohio, Zoar, founded by German sectarians. Germany itself never appeared in the columns of the almanac. There was nothing like divided or double loyalty in Gruber's heart. At almost regular intervals the almanac contained patriotic anecdotes from the American Revolution, about George Washington and Thomas Jefferson. In the calendar of 1826, after having spoken of the development and progress of the United States, Gruber concluded:

If one calmly meditates on the greatness, wealth and strength our country has reached within the short time of some forty years and reflects what freedom we enjoy in civic affairs and matters of the conscience, in contrast to all other nations on the face of the globe, and how undisturbed everyone, like members of a large family, can attend to his religious duties according to his own choice under the protection of a government chosen by the people, one cannot help being amazed and must cry from the depth of a deeply touched and grateful heart: Truly, that is the work of the Lord.<sup>15</sup>

An editorial "The Debt of England" (1838) is symptomatic of his political sentiment: "It should cause the bosom of every American to swell with pride at the contrast between England and the United States. While the former is burdened with an enormous debt, the latter has a surplus revenue of \$40,000,000 in the public treasury." Other editorials repeatedly praised the blessings of the American democratic system. In domestic politics he was (as the obituary said) "a disciple of the Jefferson school of republicanism."

The literary quality of the stories and narratives in the columns of the almanac is rather low. Most of them have a strong moral-

<sup>15</sup> For a description of the almanac see also Augustus J. Pahl, "The Hagerstown Almanac, A Venerable Institution," *American German Review*, VIII (1942), v, 7-9.



izing and religious tendency. Modern slang would probably label them as "sob-stories." To say that there were no great names of German or English literature in the fiction section of the calendar, would be beside the point, for there were no names at all. Gruber had no qualms about putting into his almanac whatever he pleased without giving credit to the author. Only once we discovered a piece well known in German literature: "Der Wilde" by J. G. Seume (1763-1810).<sup>16</sup>

The one feature which more than anything else accounts for the fame of the almanac was its weather forecasts. Through a century and a half the rural subscribers of the almanac have stubbornly insisted on the assertion that the weather forecasts were dependable and correct, although a simple checkup on its predictions should make the most loyal follower doubtful. The weather calculations of the almanac must be compiled as much as eighteen months ahead of time.<sup>17</sup> Meteorologists have for a long time questioned the scientific soundness of such weather forecasts. More than fifty years ago, Oliver L. Fassig had the following to say on the problem:

The weather conjectures of the Hagerstown Almanac are apparently based upon a supposed influence of the moon. That the moon has a direct influence in bringing about weather changes is so firmly implanted in the popular mind, and to a large extent also in the scientific mind, that it will probably never be completely eradicated. How this influence is brought about has never been stated to the satisfaction of the man of science.<sup>18</sup>

Since we were curious to find out how present day meteorology looked upon the subject we communicated with the Weather Bureau of the United States Department of Commerce. We quote from the reply which we received:

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<sup>16</sup> The topic of the poem, the noble savage, has a long tradition in European literatures. Especially during the 18th century it exerted a strong fascination on many poets who wanted to contrast the degeneracy of the civilized with the nobility of the primitive. Seume's poem, published in the *Sämtliche Werke* (Leipzig, 1853), VII, 72-75, was later included in many anthologies of German poetry. The only English translation ("The Indian") may be found in Alfred Baskerville, *The Poetry of Germany* (Philadelphia, 1886), pp. 145-148. Gruber transposed the poem into a prose narrative, again without indicating source and author.

<sup>17</sup> For a more detailed discussion of the methods of the Hagerstown weather service cf. the above mentioned article by A. J. Prahl in the *American German Review*. See also F. J. Walz, "Fake Weather Forecasts," *Popular Science Monthly*, XLVII (1905), 503-513.

<sup>18</sup> Oliver L. Fassig, "A Sketch of the Progress of Meteorology in Maryland and Delaware," in *Maryland Weather Service* (Baltimore, 1899), edited by W. Bullock Clark and others, Vol. I, p. 347.

In regard to the influence of the moon, no significant effect on the weather has been demonstrated. As evidence of this fact, the vast majority of countries in the world now have a national weather service and none of them takes the moon into consideration in making predictions. . . . In 1797 . . . there were very few weather records in the United States. In fact, no systematic records were begun at a network of observing posts in this country until 1819. Until these records began to accumulate, the principal source of information on climate and the seasonal changes in the weather was one or more of the almanacs published at that time. . . . No national meteorological service in the world today attempts to predict in any detail the weather day by day for more than two or three days ahead. The Weather Bureau makes predictions . . . for periods of five days ahead but even in these predictions the day-by-day details are seldom indicated beyond the third day. . . . The general character of the weather as an average (not in day-by-day detail) is given in an outlook for 30 days ahead but not for a year in advance.<sup>19</sup>

Should we add to this that the forecasts were often formulated in a flexible way which would not preclude claiming credit, no matter what the weather would be? Quite often the prediction said "Variable," "Changeable," "Moderate," "Unsettled," which left many possibilities open. The most spectacular story about the accuracy of the almanac's weather predictions is based on inaccurate premises, namely the somewhat startling forecast of snow for the Fourth of July.<sup>20</sup> However, we do not want to quibble about minor details. The authority of the *Almanack* has not been shaken by the scepticism of our days. "In Baltimore the court of highest appeal on weather issues is the *Hagerstown Almanack*," said Francis Beirne recently with a twinkle in his eyes.<sup>21</sup> Since repeated waves of rationalistic criticism could not shake the convictions of loyal followers in town and country we

<sup>19</sup> The author would like to express his appreciation to Mr. John H. Eberly of the U.S. Weather Bureau in Washington, D.C. This information was received in a letter of January 8, 1952.

<sup>20</sup> Numerous newspaper articles have dealt with the *Almanack*. See *Evening Sun*, March 2, 1927; *Sun*, August 25, 1940; *Evening Sun*, July 23, 1945; *Sun*, December 19, 1948; to mention only a few. Again and again these newspaper stories dwell upon the perplexing prediction of the *Almanack* for July 4, 1874, when (according to the feature writers) Hagerstown predicted snow,—and (so they say) "it did snow." What are the facts? The Baltimore *Sun* of July 3, 1874 predicted for the following day "Cloudy and rain." The issue of the fifth of July reveals that on the preceding day the city suffered from the usual Maryland summer humidity. The records of the U.S. Weather Bureau show a maximum temperature of 92 and a minimum of 67, uncomfortably high for snow flakes. We finally consulted the Hagerstown *Almanack* about this miraculous snow-prediction: the almanack-forecast for July 4, 1874 says "FAIR." Thus, the story does not reflect on the almanac but on the men who wrote about it.

<sup>21</sup> Francis F. Beirne, *The Amiable Baltimoreans* (New York, 1951), p. 247.



do not expect that the doubtful wrinkling of our forehead will bring about a change. Not only the farmers swore by the Hagerstown weather predictions. William T. Hamilton, a native of Hagerstown who was Governor of Maryland from 1880 to 1884, supposedly consulted the almanac of his home town before settling the date of a public hanging, lest the popular event be marred by rain. Who still asks whether or not the rope some times did not get wet after all? The staunch belief in the Hagerstown weather predictions cannot be approached with analytical criticism. It belongs in the lofty realm of legend and faith, and to argue about it in Western Maryland is just as dangerous as to doubt the authenticity of the Barbara Fritchie story.

In 1836 the almanac added to its columns an artistic touch which it retained to the present time: the woodcuts. The pictures reflect the agricultural pursuits of the readers. The woodcut of the month shows the chores which the farmer has to perform in this particular season of the year: flailing grain in January; chopping wood in February; building fences in March; plowing in April; shearing sheep in May; cutting grass in June; mowing wheat in July; hauling out manure in August; sowing grain in September; making cider in October; husking corn in November; building a trough in December. A few of these pictures changed in the course of time (December in later editions shows a family gathered around the fire place), but most of them have survived a century and still show the slightly crude, naive and touching directness of the original cuts.

We may well assume that during Gruber's lifetime the greater part of the text for the almanac was written by the founder and publisher himself. However, he had a few helpers. For twelve years Dr. Christian Börstler, a well known German physician in Washington County, contributed to the calendar. Born in the Palatinate, Börstler had emigrated to Maryland in 1784 and settled in Funkstown, a few miles south of Hagerstown—"a gentleman of liberal education and high standing in county and state," said the local historian.<sup>22</sup> Börstler's indefatigable efforts, his work as a physician and veterinarian has never been adequately described. His diaries, never translated into English, contain a

<sup>22</sup> T. J. C. Williams, *History of Washington County, Maryland* (Hagerstown, 1906), I, 245.



great deal of material on the social conditions among the farmers in the Maryland back counties.<sup>23</sup>

Around 1855 old age compelled Gruber to withdraw gradually from business, although he still had his hand in the preparation of the 1858 almanac which was published after his death. In his last years he appointed William Stewart of Indianapolis to take care of his business transactions in the Midwestern states, and Thomas R. Robertson in the Atlantic states.<sup>24</sup> He died on December 29, 1857, and was buried in the old Zion Reformed cemetery in Hagerstown.

Obituaries should be taken with a grain of salt. Still, we do not hesitate to quote from the necrology which we found in the 1859 edition of the almanac. What was said there only confirms the impression gained from a perusal of the sixty volumes of the calendar which in every sense of the word bear Gruber's imprint. "Through a long life, far more than the ordinary allotment, Mr. Gruber was distinguished by most marked and uniform quietude and equanimity of temper. Industrious and attentive to his business and concerns, he was strictly careful never to meddle with the business or character of others. He was never known to speak ill of any human being. He had a heart and a hand for every one in affliction and distress, that came within the range of his charity; but so quiet and unostentatious were his deeds of benevolence that none but the relieved and his God knew them. Wealth and worldly show had no charms for him. . . . No one ever doubted the sincerity and integrity of John Gruber. His word was as good as his bond. . . . To him age listened with respect and admiration, and youth rose up and called him blessed." There is no doubt that a hundred years ago John Gruber was one of the most respected and most beloved citizens in the Western part of the state.

If Gruber had a son he must have died early, since we know nothing of any male descendants. We do know, however, the names and birthdays of his six daughters, recorded in the church-book of the German Reformed Church of Hagerstown:

1. Charlotte Gruber, September 4, 1795
2. Rebecca Gruber, December 28, 1796
3. Theresia Gruber, July 17, 1799
4. Mathilda Gruber, June 4, 1801

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<sup>23</sup> The German original of his diaries was published fifty years ago in *Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter* (Chicago, 1901/03), Vol. I, i, 17-22, iii, 50-57, iv, 85-86; Vol. II, i, 56-58, ii, 29-32, iii, 49-51, iv, 49-55; Vol. III, ii, 40-44.

<sup>24</sup> See Minick, *op. cit.*, 196.

5, Louisa Margaretha Gruber, 14, 1807

6. Fredericka Christiana Gruber, August 15, 1814

Through these daughters various families (May, Schwartz, Gans, Fisher, Conn) can trace their ancestry back to the old printer.<sup>25</sup>

John Gruber died, but his almanac lived on. For several decades it was in the hands of the descendants of Daniel May; for some time it was published by the *Hagerstown Herald-Mail*; after 1920 it was owned by the Hagerstown Bookbinding and Printing Company; and in 1935 it came into the possession of the Gruber Almanack Company, under the management of Mr. Frank S. Leiter. Thus the venerable old almanac has stubbornly survived all changes in ownership and operation. According to its editor, the present circulation is near 200,000. It has subscribers all over the United States and Canada; however, it is mostly read within a 100 miles radius around Hagerstown. The sales agencies, given on the cover of the 1952 issue, are probably indicative of its heaviest distribution: Hagerstown, Frederick, Baltimore, Cumberland, in Maryland; Philadelphia, Uniontown, Pittsburgh, Gettysburg, in Pennsylvania; Culpeper, Winchester, Harrisonburg, Staunton, Richmond, in Virginia; Washington, D. C.

Every year in December piles of the thin white booklet with the colored binding strip appear in the drugstores in the towns and cities of the Shenandoah-Potomac-Susquehanna region. Gone are the bits of homespun wisdom and the comforting little sermons of the founder. Yet, thousands of people still look up the weather predictions of the almanac before they take a trip or plant their gardens. And thousands of others may just buy it because it belongs to the household and because their father and grandfather had bought it. On the cover which deliberately clings to its nineteenth century ornaments we still see a serene looking woman, a symbol of Liberty, surrounded by various paraphernalia of agriculture and commerce. On top, a grim old-fashioned American eagle spreads its wings, carrying a band with the traditional inscription "By Industry We Thrive." At the bottom of the title page we still read (and in our affection for the almanac we do not mind that this has not been correct now for almost one hundred years): "Printed by John Gruber."

<sup>25</sup> Most of this genealogical material was collected by Cyrus H. Eshelman. Charlotte (II, Second generation) married Francis Philip Schwartz. Their daughter, Margaret Catherine Schwartz (III) married the Rev. Daniel Gans. Their son was Arthur Lisle Gans (IV); his son Arthur Daniel Gans (V) is the collector of Gruber books and almanacs, mentioned in footnote 10.

# AN ENGLISHMAN IN THE FRENCH ARMY IN AMERICA, 1755

Edited by JAMES HIGH

**A**LTHOUGH the study of Western Maryland does not receive the emphasis that it deserves, the region was actually very important in the great struggle that took place between 1713 and 1783: first by the British and Americans to eliminate the French, then by the Americans to eliminate the British, not to mention the running fight between whites and Indians throughout the century.

The geographic fact alone of Maryland's strategic situation is significant. Her western tip extends like a spear aimed at the heart of the Ohio Valley—prize of empire in 1754 and victor's spoil in 1763. The strategic significance of Cumberland, Maryland, during the penetration of the Appalachian barrier is undeniable. Although Braddock's ill-starred exploit has become known to every schoolboy, it is often forgotten that he made his base at Fort Cumberland and that it was Western Maryland's own men who showed him the way over the mountains. The National Road and the United Air Lines route follow closely the way taken from east to west by the vanguard of American westward expansion.

Colorful and important figures were in plenty west of Frederick Town after the middle of the century. They are only less brilliant than the stars of the American Revolution who dominate the pages of colonial history. Thomas Cresap, Barney Curran, Christopher Gist, Andrew Montour, Teedyuscung, Sir John St. Clair, Horatio Sharpe, Daniel Dulany, Thomas Ringgold, Reverend Thomas Bacon—and hosts of others played out their roles with distinction in Western Maryland in the drama of national birth.

As the two hundredth anniversary of the founding of Cumberland approaches, it seems fitting to call some attention to one way in which Western Maryland was significant in the American process of breaking out of the restricted area along the waterways of the eastern seaboard.



The Ohio Company of Virginia first pointed up the strategic position of Cumberland by building some warehouses there in 1749. The intention then was to use it as a base for trade westward with the Indians. Its military usefulness became apparent to Colonel Sharpe in 1754, when he first became governor of Maryland and while he was commander-in-chief of the British forces against France in the New World. The following document sharply illustrated Cumberland's importance to the French as viewed from the western side of the mountains as a means of access to the "back side" of the English colonies.

In 1753 Governor Robert Dinwiddie, whatever his motives might have been, interested himself in the Ohio Valley, and made possible the circumstances that led Major George Washington's Virginia troops to fire the "shot heard 'round the world.'" <sup>1</sup> The Earl of Holderness sent out his letter warning the American governors that "regular European troops" were in league with the western Indians with the purpose of encroaching on the "Limits of his Majesties Dominions." <sup>2</sup> The map that Dinwiddie sent to the Board of Trade, January 29, 1754, clearly indicates what its maker, Christopher Gist, thought was an implicit threat: French aggression southward and eastward from the Great Lakes. <sup>3</sup> Most probably the focus of the attack would be Western Maryland. The result of these activities was that young Washington was sent out through what is now Western Pennsylvania to warn the French away from the Ohio. By the middle of 1754 Britain and France were irrevocably committed to a war in North America to determine which nation would succeed in dominating the continent. <sup>4</sup>

It took two years and a succession of four British commanders in the field, before Great Britain declared open hostility and sent over the Earl of Loudoun to wage serious warfare against the

<sup>1</sup> Louis Knott Koontz, *Robert Dinwiddie* (Glendale, Calif., 1941), p. 237 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Holderness to Sharpe, August 28, 1753, *Archives of Maryland*, VI, 3-4. Robert D'Arcy, 4th Earl of Holderness, was Secretary of State (1751-1761). Horatio Sharpe, (1718-1790) was Governor of Maryland (1753-1769), and succeeded Governor Dinwiddie as commander-in-chief of the British forces in America (1754-1755). He was relieved by General Edward Braddock.

<sup>3</sup> Map of French positions on the Lakes and down the Ohio, 1754, Public Record Office, Maps and Plans 118:7 (Library of Congress Transcripts).

<sup>4</sup> Adam Stephen, "Narrative of what has passed upon the River Ohio, August, 1753, to July, 1754," British Museum, Additional Manuscripts, 15874:208 (Library of Congress Transcripts). See Lawrence Henry Gipson, *The Great War for the Empire* (7 vols. to date, Caldwell, Idaho and New York, 1932-1950), vols. VI and VII, *The Years of Defeat, 1754-1757* and *The Victorious Years, 1758-1763*. This is an admirable and comprehensive work.

French.<sup>5</sup> Two more years passed; three more commanders marked up failures for English arms before Brigadier General John Forbes, Major General James Wolfe, and Sir Jeffery Amherst finally swept the power of the King of France from America forever.

"A Journal description of some of the French Forts, had from Thomas Forbes, lately a Private Soldier in the King of France's Service, January, 1755," is a long forgotten document which reposes in the Public Record Office in London.<sup>6</sup> Such a journal reminds one of some of the stories heard by interrogators of Japanese prisoners in the Pacific during World War II. The "other side of the picture": a description in one's own language of the enemy's positions in a war is usually startling. An enemy is only partly seen in combat; he is imagined as more formidable than he is. When he is suddenly revealed as human, as possessing only the same physical attributes as other men, he becomes a little pitiable.

In the 20th century or in the 18th, it is rare to have the opportunity to observe the thinking and activities of an opposing military force. It often makes war seem doubly futile. In the deposition of Thomas Forbes, an Englishman who spent about a year in the French army, such a chance is offered.

This statement by Forbes illustrates some of the aspects of the brewing difficulties that presaged the mighty struggle between the titans of empire in the 18th century. It shows the strategic usefulness of nature's great highway from Quebec "down country" to Montreal, thence "in Batteaus & canoes" to Niagara, across Lake Erie to Presqu' isle, and then to the "Head of Buffaloe River," flowing into the Ohio drainage southward. The current would carry supplies and men to Fort Duquesne. It demonstrates, on the other hand, the basic weakness of the French attack on the English colonies from the west. A force of sufficient strength to strike from the passes of the remote Appalachians had to go the tortuous distance with their supplies, no more than two or three men to a boat. The journey was hazardous and expensive. French-

<sup>5</sup> James High, "The Earl of Loudoun and Horatio Sharpe, 1757 and 1758," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XLV (March, 1950), 14-32.

<sup>6</sup> A Journal description of some of the French Forts had from Thomas Forbes, lately a Private Soldier in the King of France's Service, January, 1755, Public Record Office, Colonial Office Papers 5/721: 135 ff. (Library of Congress Transcripts).

men as individuals had little to gain by the experience and their lives to lose if any hitch took place.

At the time of Washington's trip to the Ohio country when he attacked Jumonville's <sup>7</sup> force, killing the commander, and was in turn attacked by the French and forced to retreat, Thomas Forbes wrote concerning the first act in the unfolding drama. He said that there were about 1,400 men at the site of the newly constructed Fort Duquesne, "Seven Hundred of whom were ordered out . . . to attack M<sup>r</sup> Washington," under the command of Captain Mercier.<sup>8</sup> Washington's actual surrender was made to the dead Frenchman's brother, making the defeat doubly bitter. Washington unwittingly set his name under the word "assassination" when he signed the "Capitulation accordie par M. de Villiers . . . à celui des troupes angloises actuellement dans le Fort de Necessité," on July 3, 1754.<sup>9</sup>

It was very hard for the French to maintain a large force in the rear of the English coastal positions, and just a year later it was accurately reported that only three or four hundred French and Indians remained at Fort Duquesne. The temptation to desert was strong, and the threat, constantly offered, of hostility from the native tribesmen, made civilization more attractive than the rigors of backwoods campaigning. As an example, Michael La Chauvergne, commanding thirty-three Indians and French-Canadians on a raid across the Susquehanna from Fort Machault, became lost after his followers had melted into the forest one at a time, and after he had wandered in the wilderness alone for seven days finally surrendered at "Fort Henry" in order to avoid starvation. He was happy to abandon the banner of Louis XV.<sup>10</sup>

The British had no way of knowing these things except as chance might turn up a La Chauvergne or a Forbes. The best of military intelligence is never adequate, and in the eighteenth century it was, to say the least, sketchy.

<sup>7</sup> Joseph Coulon de Villiers de Jumonville (d. May 28, 1754).

<sup>8</sup> "Chevalier Le Mercier, captain of the Bombardier gunners, commandant of the Canadian artillery" was sent by Captain Contrecoeur, April 16, 1754, to warn the British at the Monongahela to leave the lands of the "king, my master," Public Record Office, Colonial Office Papers 5/14:389 (Library of Congress Transcripts).

<sup>9</sup> Narrative of what has passed on the River Ohio [1754], British Museum, Additional Manuscripts, 35478:130 (Library of Congress Transcripts).

<sup>10</sup> Examination of Michael La Chauvergne by Lieutenant Colonel Conrad Weiser and others, Pennsylvania, 1757, Public Record Office, Gifts and Deposits, Bundle 95 (Library of Congress Transcripts).



Who Thomas Forbes was, other than a "Private Soldier in the King of France's Service," is unknown. A soldier of fortune is, at best, a shadowy figure. Tiring of the life of the *coureur de bois*, he told his questioners in 1755, that "October last I had an opportunity of relieving myself and retiring, . . ." He retired to Fort Cumberland on the British side of the mountains. In December, 1754, he placed himself in the hands of the Virginia and Maryland troops stationed in western Maryland when Lieutenant Colonel Horatio Sharpe was commander-in-chief of the British forces. At that time the French threat from the north and their strength in Louisiana were unknown and greatly feared quantities to the English settlers east of the Appalachian Mountains. Any information that they could acquire from the enemy was eagerly received.

A Journal description of some of the French Forts had from Thomas Forbes, lately a Private Soldier in the King of France's Service.<sup>11</sup>

About a Year & [a] half ago I, with 120 Private Soldiers & our Officers, embarked in Old France for Canada.

Our Vessel was a Frigate of 40 Guns, and another Frigate of 30 Guns sailed at the same time with a Company of Soldiers to relieve the Garrison at the Mouth of the Mississippi.

After a short Voyage we disembarked at Quebeck where we were permitted to stay 3 Weeks to refresh ourselves.

The regular Troops in that City did not exceed 300, but I was told there were many Parties & Detachments quartered up & down the Country all 'round the Place.

Being joined by a Company of 50 Men from that Garrison, we went in Batteaus to Montreal under the Command of Lieu<sup>t</sup> Carqueville, & there we spent the last winter.

At our Arrival there was a Company of 50 Men in the City where [we] were quartered, so that in all we made 220 exclusive of Officers.

Very early in the Spring we were joined by near 400 more, who were drafted out of the several Companies that garrisoned the Forts, & were posted on the Frontiers of Canada.

Easter Tuesday we embarked to the Number of 600, or 700, in about 300 Batteaus & Canoes (not Barken) & took with us a large Quantity of Barrell'd Pork & Meal in Baggs; the Baggs weighed 60<sup>lb</sup> or 70<sup>lb</sup> each, & I believe there might have been 1500 of them; how many of the Pork there were I never heard, nor could I guess, but I believe the Canoes that were not laden with Flour carried 5 or 6 Barrells at least, each of them, & the Batteaus received 18 or 20.

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<sup>11</sup> *Op. cit.*, Public Record Office, Colonial Office Papers 5/721:135 (Library of Congress Transcripts).

We were three Weeks going from Montreal to Lake Ontario, keeping the Shore close on board, because of the rapidity of the Stream, & at Night we went ashore; excepting a few that were left with the Canoes that were fastened to Stakes or Trees on the shore.

Then we had our Biscuit, which was laid in for the Voyage, delivered to us, with 1<sup>lb</sup> of Pork to each, & kindling large Fires, we cooked our Provisions for next Day, & slept 'round the Fires, each of us being provided with a Blanket.

We kept along the South East shore of Ontario Lake & passed so near to the English Fort Called . . . Oswego that we could talk to the Centinels.

When we came to the Fort at the Falls of Niagara we landed all our Provisions, in which Service the Garrison at the Fort assisted & carried them on Sleds that were there at the Fort to a little Log House called le petit Fort de Niagara, three Leagues beyond Niagara Fort, where we put them aboard other Batteaus & Canoes that were there ready to receive them.

At our Arrival at Niagara, there were at that Fort 25 private Men, commanded by Lieu<sup>t</sup> de la Parrie, but M. Contracure<sup>12</sup> was also then in the Fort, & had the chief Command; there was also a Serjeant's Guard at the little Fort.

The Fort at Niagara is no more than an Eminence surrounded with Stockadoes or Palisades, which stand about 14 Feet above the Ground very close together, & are united or fastened together by three Pieces of long Scantling that it put transversely on the Inside at the Distance of three Feet or so from each other. These Stockadoes inclose an Area near 300 Paces square on which is built an House for the Commandant, Barracks for the Men, & a Smith's shop; it is not rendered defensible by any outwork or even a Ditch, & there are not mounted in it more than four Swivel Guns.

As soon as we had put our Provisions on board at the little Fort that I mentioned, we proceeded to Lake Erie with Capt<sup>n</sup> Contracure, who had himself now taken the Command of all the Troops in those Canoes. We kept along the Eastern Coast of this Lake to Fort Prisquille<sup>13</sup> which, I apprehend, is about 50 Leagues<sup>14</sup> from Niagara; this Fort is situated on a little rising Ground at a very small Distance from the Water of Lake Erie; is rather larger than that of Niagara, but has likewise no Bastions or Outworks of any Sort. Tis a Square Area inclosed with Logs about 12 feet high, the Logs being squared & laid on each other, & not more than 16 or 18 inches thick. Capt: Darpontine commanded in this Fort, & his Garrison was Thirty Private Men.

We were 8 days employed in unloading our Canoes here & carrying the Provisions to Fort Boeff<sup>15</sup> which is built about 6 Leagues from Fort Prisquille at the Head of Buffaloe River.

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<sup>12</sup> Pierre Claude Pécaudy, Sieur de Contrecoeur (1706-1775), great soldier of New France. He accompanied Céleron de Bienville on the Ohio expedition of 1749.

<sup>13</sup> Fort Presqu'isle is the present town of Erie, Pennsylvania.

<sup>14</sup> League means here about three miles.

<sup>15</sup> Fort Le Boeuf is the present town of Waterford, Pennsylvania.

This Fort was composed of four Houses built by way of Bastions, & the intermediate Space stockadoed. Lt St Blain was posted here with 20 Men; here we found three large Batteaus & between 200 or 300 Canoes which we freighted with Provisions & proceeded down the Buffaloe River, which flows into the Ohio at about 20 Leagues (as I conceive) distance from Fort au Boeuff. This River was small & at some Places very shallow, so that we towed the Canoes sometimes wading & sometimes taking ropes to the Shore a great Part of the way.

When we came into the Ohio we had a fine deep Water and a stream in our Favour, so that we rowed down that river from the Mouth of the Buffaloe to Du Quisne [Du Quesne] Fort on Monongahela, which I take to be 70 Leagues distant, in four Days & an half.

At our Arrival at Fort Du Quisne we found the Garrison busily employed in compleating that Fort, & stockadoeing it round at some Distance for the Security of the Soldiers Barracks (against any Surprize) which was built between the Stockadoes & the Glacis of the Fort. Fort du Quisne is built of square Logs transversely placed as is frequent in Mill Dams & the Interstices filled up with Earth. The Length of the Logs is about 16 Feet which is the Thickness of the Rampart. There is a Parapet raised on the Rampart of Logs, & the Length of the Curtains is about 30 Feet, & the Demigorge<sup>16</sup> of the Bastions about 80. The Fort is surrounded on the two Sides that do not front the Water with a Ditch about 12 feet wide & very deep, because there being no Covert way, the Musqueteers fire down from thence having a Glacis before them.

When the News of Ensign Jumonville's Defeat reached Us, our Force consisted of about 1400, Seven Hundred of whom were ordered out under the Command of Capt: Mercier to attack Mr Washington; after our return from the Meadows, a great Number of the Soldiers, who had been labouring at the Fort all the Spring, were sent off in Divisions to the several Forts between that & Canada; & some of those that came down last were sent to build a Fort somewhere on the head of the Ohio,<sup>17</sup> so that in October the Garrison at Du Quisne was reduced to 400 Men, who had Provisions enough at the Fort to last them two Years, notwithstanding a good deal of the Flour we brought down in the Spring proved to be damaged, & some of it spoiled by the rains that fell at that time.

In October last I had an opportunity of relieving myself and retiring. There were not then any Indians with the French, but a considerable Number were expected & said to be on their March thither.

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<sup>16</sup> "Demigorge" is usually called gorge, meaning the rear entrance to the bastion, or the distance between the points from which the bastion juts out.

<sup>17</sup> Probably Venango is meant here. La Chauvergne's father a Lieutenant of Marines, was in command.



## COURT SQUARE, FREDERICK

By CHARLES MCC. MATHIAS, JR.

COLONIAL civilization, with its British traditions and its American vigor, had expanded above the tidewater to the foot of the green walls of Maryland when, on June 10, 1748, Governor Samuel Ogle signed an Act of Assembly dividing Prince George's County and erecting a new county by the name of Frederick.<sup>1</sup> The Act also named a Commission to purchase land upon which to build a court house and prison, but the choice of a site for the county seat was not made without considerable thought and even controversy.<sup>2</sup>

It was not until two years later that land was actually purchased for a court house in Frederick County. On May 10, 1750, Daniel Dulany of Annapolis conveyed an estimated three acres of land to the Commissioners appointed by the Act of the Assembly to purchase the land for building a court house in Frederick County.<sup>3</sup> The price for the site was £18 current money of Maryland, paid by George Gordon, Sheriff of Frederick County, out of money levied on the taxable inhabitants of the County. It is interesting to note the restriction placed by Daniel Dulany in his deed which specified that the grant was "To the use of the inhabitants of the said County to build a Court House and prison thereon and to no other use, intent or purpose whatsoever."

The first Court House was begun in 1750 and its exterior was completed in the same year. Due to the demands of the military during the French and Indian War, the interior was not completed until 1756. There is a legend that General Braddock at one time delayed the progress of the work by calling upon the workmen to assist him in preparing his campaign against Fort Duquesne.

This first Court House was a wooden structure of one story

<sup>1</sup> Edward S. Delaplaine, *The Origin of Frederick County, Maryland* (Washington, 1949), pp. 17-20.

<sup>2</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, XLVI, 91, 143-144, 266, 299, 342, 510, 546.

<sup>3</sup> Land Records, Frederick County Court House (Liber B, Folio 267).

and a half. From all accounts, it apparently had a curious gallery that was reached by winding steps. For some reason, not now apparent, it seems to have had two jury boxes. It was in this building that the Judges of the Frederick County Court took action, on November 22, 1765, to repudiate the effect of the Stamp Act, and ordered the Clerk of the Court of Frederick County to continue to conduct the public business in spite of the absence of the stamps required by the British law. On the eve of the Revolution a group of Fredericktonians led by John Hanson, subsequently President of the Congress under the Articles of Confederation, met in the Court House and adopted resolutions on behalf of the beleaguered people of Boston.<sup>4</sup> A few years later, this old Court House was the scene of one of the most famous trials ever held in Maryland. On July 25, 1781, seven Tories were sentenced by Judge Alexander Contee Hanson to be carried to the gaol of Fredericktown, and be hanged and

cut down to the earth alive, and your entrails shall be taken out and burnt while you are yet alive, and your heads shall be cut off, your body shall be divided into four parts and your heads and quarters shall be placed where his excellency the Governor shall appoint. So Lord have mercy upon your poor souls.

Four of the doomed men were pardoned but Casper Fritchie, Yost Plecker, and Peter Sueman were executed in the Court House yard.<sup>5</sup> It is only fair to add that public opinion throughout Maryland immediately reacted against this revival of a barbaric form of punishment.<sup>6</sup>

In 1785 a new Court House was authorized by the General Assembly. Frederick's little known but highly talented architect, Andrew McCleery, was employed to supervise its construction. It is reported that he chose as his model the Court of Assizes in Dublin, Ireland. This building was apparently quickly pushed to completion and, from surviving pictures of it, it must have been a very handsome structure. An old Frederick newspaper, *The Key*, in a sketch of Frederick County published on February 17, 1798, describes the Court House as "much admired." Nellie Carter Garrott, in a paper prepared for the Historical Society of

<sup>4</sup> Matthew Page Andrews, *History of Maryland* (New York, 1929), p. 295.

<sup>5</sup> T. J. C. Williams, *History of Frederick County* (Hagerstown, 1910), I, 96-97.

<sup>6</sup> Matthew Page Andrews, *Tercentenary History of Maryland* (Chicago, 1925), I, 655.

Frederick County in 1907,<sup>7</sup> pictured the second Court House as follows:

Its main entrance, a pretty colonial portico, faced the south. The east wing was the sheriff's office. The west wing was the side entrance to the Clerk's and Register's Office. The Court House ran north and south. The Judge's seat was at the northern end and the southern end was filled with benches for the people who came to Court. There was a rise of about two feet, where sat the Judge. To his right or west side was the jury, left or east side lawyers and some feet in front was the prisoner's box. A straight aisle came down the center of the room. In winter the court room was heated by two ten plate stoves, each large enough to have placed in it a half cord stick of wood. The second story above the sheriff's office the National Guards had as an armory. This company had been formed by General Edward Shriver for the Mexican War and upon their return took quarters in the Court House. The National Guards, however, went to pieces long before the Civil War. This room was used always as an armory, for the State Guards, and in it were stored the State guns and flags. The Home Guards were organized during the Civil War to protect the town. They kept also their arms in this part of the Court House. The window facing the south in the Sheriff's office was used as the poll for voting. The only one in the town. Adjoining the Court House on the west was the Register and Clerk office. It was a small two story house, slanting roof, door in center, with two windows on either side.

It was in this Court House of 1785 that many of the most distinguished members of the Frederick County Bar practiced their profession. Among them were Thomas Johnson, Governor of Maryland and Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States,<sup>8</sup> Judge Richard Potts, member of the Continental Congress and United States Senator,<sup>9</sup> Francis Scott Key, author of the National Anthem, and Roger Brooke Taney, Chief Justice of the United States.<sup>10</sup>

The site chosen for the Court House in 18th century Fredericktown would be known, in 20th century parlance, as suburban. The concept of a "square" had not materialized in 1791, when a French visitor described the Court House in his journal:<sup>11</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Archives of Historical Society of Frederick County.

<sup>8</sup> Governor (1777-1779), succeeded John Rutledge on U. S. Supreme Court in 1791 and served until 1793.

<sup>9</sup> Served in Continental Congress (1781-1782); Chief Judge, Fifth Judicial Circuit (1791-1793); succeeded to Charles Carroll of Carrollton's seat in the U. S. Senate in 1793, resigned 1796.

<sup>10</sup> U. S. Attorney General (1831-1833); Chief Justice of the Supreme Court (1836-1864).

<sup>11</sup> Ferdinand-M. Bayard, *Travels of a Frenchman in Maryland and Virginia, 1791*, Translated and Edited by Ben C. McCary (Ann Arbor, 1950), p. 16.



The only public building worthy of notice is the town hall.<sup>12</sup> It stands on a little sod covered hill where the children go to engage in the diversions of their age. This building is square. It has a small cupola and a peristyle supported by columns of Tuscan order.

After some years a movement was started to enclose the Court House grounds with iron railings and ornamental iron gates after the fashion of a London square. It has been reported that the County authorities were staggered by the expense of this project, and so the railings were erected by Col. John McPherson at his own expense.<sup>13</sup> This handsome iron work was of the same type as that which now encloses the Ross (McPherson) and Mathias (Brien) houses, and the imposing wrought iron gates were of the same character as the renowned wrought iron gateways that have made Charleston, South Carolina, so famous. The Frederick newspaper of that period, *The Reservoir and Public Reflector*, is quoted<sup>14</sup> as reporting that the completion of the iron fence was marked by a public celebration which happily coincided with the July 4th festivities in 1823.

Forty years passed with little reported change in the appearance of the Court House and its grounds. It was during the period of discord and restlessness which marked the descent of the nation into Civil War that the next major change in the Court House took place. On May 8, 1861, the second Court House burned to the ground. Numerous accounts note that as the flames destroyed the building and the roof began to weaken, the bell in the cupola tolled its own death knell.

After this tragic fire, the present or third Court House was erected. It is far larger than the previous buildings and replaces not only the old Court House but also the separate Clerk's office which stood on Church Street. In its day this building was considered one of the finest examples of up-to-date construction. Parts of it were designed to be fireproof, a novel idea in 1862.

The tide of the Civil War swirled around the new Court House but left it with no visible scars. The next change that came to the Court House yard was toward the latter part of the 19th century by which time the handsome iron work that surrounded

<sup>12</sup> An obvious misnomer.

<sup>13</sup> Notes of Miss Emma R. Gittinger on history of Frederick County Court House in Archives of Historical Society of Frederick County.

<sup>14</sup> Nellie Carter Garrott paper, *supra*.

the Court House grounds was out of fashion. A popular movement arose to "Take down the railings." Public entertainments were organized to raise funds for the work, and when, shortly before the turn of the century, enough money had been accumulated, the fence was taken down.

Since that time there has been little major change in the Court House or its immediate surroundings. A fountain and several monuments have been erected in the Square, and the general scene has been little changed for the last half century.

In the same Act of Assembly which authorized the building of the Court House, the construction of a jail was also sanctioned. The first jail was built on what is now Council Street on the present site of the Ross (McPherson) and Mathias (Brien) houses. Apparently the original structure was not altogether satisfactory. Petitions for its improvement were presented to the legislature in Annapolis. The Assembly proceedings of December 4, 1766, record that on that date it was represented that

The public prison in Frederick County is at present very insecure and that frequent escapes happen which might be prevented by building a stone wall quite round the said prison and a house at the gate thereof, for the gaoler to live in, and that such yard would contribute much to the health of the prisoners.<sup>15</sup>

This representation was received with favor by the legislature and a stone wall was built. Even this improvement did not provide lasting satisfaction, and on January 26, 1815, the legislature authorized the Levy Court of Frederick County to sell the lots on which the old jail stood and to build a new jail on another site.<sup>16</sup> Consequently in 1817 the Justices of the Levy Court conveyed the eastern part of the old jail site to John Brien<sup>17</sup> and the western portion to Colonel John McPherson,<sup>18</sup> Brien's partner and father-in-law. Colonel McPherson and Brien collaborated in the erection of their homes which were designed as counter-parts of each other. The main section of each house adjoined, while each end of the sizable mass thus formed was flanked by a smaller wing.

Both houses are set back from the street with small yards

<sup>15</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, LXI, 243.

<sup>16</sup> Laws of Maryland, 1814, Chapter LXXXVIII, *An Act for the Erection of a new Gaol in Frederick County, etc.*

<sup>17</sup> Land Records, Frederick County Court House (Liber JS4, Folio 525).

<sup>18</sup> Land Records, Frederick County Court House (Liber JS4, Folio 523).

separating them from the pavement. These yards are enclosed by iron railings which are pierced by gateways flanked by massive piers upon which swing graceful wrought-iron gates. The gates of both houses lead to high marble steps, guarded by slender iron balustrades. The entrances culminate in identical doorways which are surmounted by elliptical arches. Small fluted columns frame the doors, and the halls within are lighted by leaded fanlights and side lights.

The fenestration of these houses is simple, but dignified, with two windows on either side of each entrance and with unbroken rows of five windows on the second and third floors. In keeping with the Palladian tradition the windows are graduated in size with small apertures in the high "English" basement, large windows on the first floor and successively smaller ones on each of the upper floors.

Both of these houses were provided with a very elaborate series of outbuildings or in the contemporary phrase, "offices": stables, carriage houses, smoke houses, and slave quarters. These auxiliary structures were so complete as to render the establishments virtually self-sufficient, just as though they were located on some remote country estate. The outbuildings of the McPherson (now the Ross) house have survived intact and display an almost unique example of Maryland domestic architecture. The square icehouse with its diminutive cupola, the low slave quarters and the rambling stables, all set in a garden surrounded by brick walls still convey an impression of the security and independence of life in the days when Maryland was being transformed from a colony into a State.

Mr. Brien and Colonel McPherson were prominent men in the County, and their new homes were the scene of much elaborate hospitality. The ballroom on the third floor of the Brien house was the setting in 1824 for a reception tendered to General LaFayette in the course of his triumphal tour of that year. A meeting of Columbia Lodge, No. 58, A. F. and A. M. was held in Colonel McPherson's "West parlor" to welcome LaFayette as a brother Mason during the same visit.<sup>19</sup>

To the west of the McPherson (Ross) house on Council Street lies that lot of land laid off by C. Beatty, County Surveyor,

<sup>19</sup> Inscription on Masonic apron worn by Lafayette now in possession of Columbia Lodge No. 58, A.F. and A.M.



by order of the Frederick County Court for the Visitors of Frederick County Public School. This land was appropriated to the school under the provisions of the Act of the General Assembly of the Province of Maryland passed at the Session of 1769.<sup>20</sup> The building which many generations of Fredericktonians knew as the Frederick Academy was erected in 1796 and was originally a two-story structure. The Academy yard served as playground and meeting place for the community. The old school building was distinguished for its balanced proportions. The central doorway, several steps above the street level, was flanked on either side by three large windows. The length of the façade was relieved by a middle projection of about a foot, which probably had a pediment at the roof level. Subsequently, a two story wing containing living quarters for the principal was added to the east. The still later addition of a third story reduced the existence of a pediment to the realm of speculation. It also somewhat spoiled the proportions of the building but failed to destroy its charm. The interior was noteworthy for a double stairway which was united on the landing before rising to the second floor.

After over a century of service the Academy ceased its operations as a private boys school, but its building continued to serve many useful public functions. In 1935 the building and its grounds were conveyed by the President and Visitors of Frederick College to the Trustees appointed by the will of Margaret C. Artz, who were to found and maintain the Artz Library. Work was begun to restore the old building to its original appearance, but before much progress had been made, plans were changed and the venerable building was razed and replaced by the present library building.

A plat made in 1815<sup>21</sup> designates all that land lying west of Record Street as the property of the heirs of William Ritchie. At that date it contained a house, for the deed conveying the property to Dr. William Tyler describes the property as being William Ritchie's residence. Dr. Tyler, in about 1815 or shortly thereafter, built the handsome double houses that stand at the head of Council Street. As far as can be ascertained, the general outline of these houses when they were built was the same as it is today. The outward appearance of the houses, once Georgian,

<sup>20</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, LXII, 153-154.

<sup>21</sup> Land Records, Frederick County Court House (Liber JS5, Folio 156).

has changed very greatly. This change was occasioned by almost complete reconstruction after a disastrous fire in 1842. That fire is described in an unpublished manuscript by Catherine Sue (Thomas) Markell,<sup>22</sup> as follows:

On the afternoon of March 31, 1842, these buildings [Dr. Tyler's] were destroyed by fire. A furious gale prevailed at the time and pieces of burning timber were carried in all directions causing alarms to be sent out from at least 20 different places. Ignitions from these strained embers occurred at the Academy immediately opposite which was saved only by the constant use of wet blankets; the Court House steeple, where the flames were extinguished by the carrying of a string of hose up into its belfry; the Independent Engine House, then standing in Court Square, Keefer's Blacksmith Shop adjoining the old Reformed Church, City Hotel Stables, Koontz's dwelling on Market, and Keller's Rope factory on Patrick Street besides many dwellings on these thoroughfares. Bucket brigades were formed to the town creek and Tyler's pond, and men, women, children, black and white, worked side by side with a will, dextrously passing from hand to hand the quaint leathern pails for filling the little engine reservoir, and returning them empty by the opposite file. A faithful reproduction of this scene, in the form of a well preserved banner painted in oil fifty years ago by the talented native artist, John J. Markell, is still extant. [A photograph of this banner is now in the Library of the Maryland Historical Society.]

Following the fire these houses were rebuilt and were ornamented in the taste fashionable during the 1840's. This was the period of the Classic Revival, and its influence is apparent in the balustrades and the columned doorways and porches that are still in place. These houses are built close to the street, but privacy is insured by the use of a high basement which projects the first floor windows far above the gaze of the passer-by. The doors to each house are placed next to each other, sheltered from the morning sun by formal pillared porches, painted white. Each of these neighborly doorways is pierced by a transom and side-lights, and the plan of the first floors is completed by two windows on the outer side of each entrance. The architectural unity of these twin houses is emphasized by a broad panel cornice extending across the double front perforated by the miniature windows which replaced dormers in the designs of the Revivalists. This panel is crowned by a graceful white balustrade stretching along the roof line of both houses.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>22</sup> This manuscript consisting of the personal recollections of Mrs. Markell (1828-1901) is now in the Archives of the Historical Society of Frederick County.

<sup>23</sup> Now the homes of Colonel Philip R. Winebrenner and Mr. Robert T. Fisher.



Proceeding southward on Record Street, the next property is the site of the building in which, as has already been mentioned, William Ritchie resided. This ancient structure is said to have been built about 1750. It was a low one-story structure with a porch running across its front. Legend has made this building the first Court House, but the facts do not bear out this story. What is more likely is that William Ritchie, who was a longtime Clerk of the Court, may have conducted some of the public business in his home so that the house was remembered by some persons as the place where they had transacted legal business.<sup>24</sup>

The gracious white house, on Church Street, which is now the home of Charles S. Lane, III, stands on property that was conveyed by several grantors in 1821 to John Nelson. Nelson was one of Frederick's most distinguished citizens,<sup>25</sup> who occupied many public offices of great importance, and the home that he built has always been one of the most admired in Frederick. He probably began construction of the house shortly after he purchased the land and completed it about 1823. It later passed through several owners, including members of the Steiner, McPherson, and Sifford families, until it became the home of Judge John Ritchie in 1880. Little more than half of the original house remains today but its appearance in Judge Ritchie's time was described in an article published in *The News Citizen* in 1933.

Behind those gorgeous twin horse-chestnut trees stood the beautiful home of Chief Judge and Mrs. John Ritchie, those remarkable parents of eighteen children. 'Ritchie's wall' was a Frederick institution over which we ran, jumped and raced up and down. Years ago the wing of the house, the old flagstone driveway with its large iron gates, and the Judge's fascinating little white brick office with green door and shutters gave way to modern buildings. The yard, where every kind of fruit tree grew, with its circle of old English boxwood and abundance of old fashioned flowers was a veritable Eden when the trees were in bloom.

Next to the Lane home on Church Street stands the property which was conveyed to Dr. John Tyler in 1813. A year later in 1814, a house was erected on this lot by Dr. Tyler which even today is sometimes called "The Spite House." The origin of this name is traced, according to legend, to a plan to extend Record

<sup>24</sup> Site of the present home of Edward D. Storm, Esq.

<sup>25</sup> U.S. House of Representatives (1821-1823), Chargé d'Affaires to the Two Sicilies (1831-1832), Attorney General of the United States (1843-1845) and Secretary of State *ad interim* (1844) in the Cabinet of President Tyler.



Street to meet Patrick which Dr. Tyler countered by placing a substantial building directly in the path of the proposed thoroughfare. This home was gradually enlarged by successive owners and today presents a picturesque appearance with casually projecting wings and rambling back buildings. The front door, often ajar in warm weather, reveals the unusually wide hall ornamented by an elliptical arch supported by engaged columns. The width of the hall gives a particularly graceful air to the winding stair that rises from it.<sup>26</sup>

Standing on the corner of Church and Court (formerly Publick) Street is the Potts house, one of the better known of Frederick's old homes. The Potts lot was said by Ernest Helfenstein in his *History of All Saints Parish* <sup>27</sup> to have been the place chosen by Daniel Dulany for the first church in the Parish. For some reason this choice was not followed, and this lot was conveyed as part of the original Court House grounds to the County Commissioners. After the abandonment of the jail on Council Street, Roger Nelson negotiated the purchase of these lots, but died before he actually received title to them. After his death, the purchase was completed in 1818 by Richard Potts, son of Judge Richard Potts.

The house built by Richard Potts on this site was designed for him by Robert Mills, President Andrew Jackson's Architect of Public Buildings and designer of the Washington Monument in Baltimore, and was erected by Frederick builders under the direction of the McCleery brothers. Mills' plans and the McCleerys' ledgers for this project are still extant.<sup>28</sup> As designed by Mills, the principal feature of the house is the wide front entrance with its double doors ornamented with small oval panels. The leaded tracery of the elliptical fanlight and the side lights has been much admired and copied by modern builders. The door was set to the side of the main house, although the two windows occupying the remainder of the front were balanced to some extent by the wing to the north, known as the "office" to many generations of the Potts family. The end walls of the house rose to crows' steps which were connected by a classic railing, or balustrade, extended across the roof. To the rear a long service wing

<sup>26</sup> Presently owned by Mrs. William Schnauffer.

<sup>27</sup> (Frederick, 1932) p. 7.

<sup>28</sup> Now in the possession of Joseph W. Urner of Frederick.

was constructed parallel to the façade of the house. This wing was built with diminishing roof levels, providing a telescopic effect, and adjoined a hip-roofed smoke house, crowned with a pineapple finial. In over a century of occupancy by the Potts family some changes were inevitably made, including the addition of a slightly disproportionate third story. By and large, however, the house retains its original charm and still displays the skill of its distinguished architect.<sup>29</sup>

Court Square today has a few gaps representing old structures of historical or architectural interest that have not survived the march of progress. The modern visitor will, nevertheless, find a concentration of distinguished buildings, each with its own character, yet conforming to a common pattern. A stroll around Court Square will amply reward the student of architecture and history or the layman who merely enjoys savoring the atmosphere in which Maryland's history and traditions have been developing and growing through more than two centuries.

<sup>29</sup> Now owned by Mr. and Mrs. John R. Cheatham.

# FRIENDSHIP VALLEY FARM

By RUTH GIST PICKENS

UNTIL 1938 a home of the Gist family, "Friendship Valley Farm" is one of the oldest estates in Western Maryland.<sup>1</sup> At first it was considered a lonely, wild, and dangerous place, because it was not located near one of the waterways, then the lanes of traffic. A Gist had been among the early settlers of Maryland, however, and his grandchildren were a sturdy breed of pioneers who thrived in lonely places.<sup>2</sup> Like other early families they soon built houses of logs nurtured by the wilderness and later of bricks made from the earth itself. In spite of their primitive crudeness, these homes were not without charm.

Christopher Gist, the first of the family in Maryland, was a 17th-century immigrant.<sup>3</sup> His will, recorded at the Hall of Records, Annapolis, is dated 1691.<sup>4</sup> His wife was Edith Cromwell, granddaughter of Richard Cromwell, said to have been a relative of Oliver Cromwell.<sup>5</sup> The descendants of Christopher Gist have owned many tracts of land. Upon one of these tracts Joshua Gist, great-grandson of the immigrant, built the large house that is the subject of this article. This house is still standing on the tract patented as "Long Farm." The property, subsequently given its present name, remained in the family from 1774 to 1938. Its first Gist owner was Thomas, Senior, the father of Colonel Joshua Gist

<sup>1</sup> This article is based upon available original records in the possession of the author, in the Maryland Historical Society, and in the Hall of Records; upon published biographical sketches and genealogies; and upon family tradition.

See also plaque placed on house in 1932.

<sup>2</sup> A favorite quotation of George Gist, a civil engineer and the brother of the late Robert Gist, was "Something lost beyond the ranges, something hidden—go and find it."

<sup>3</sup> For genealogy, see Christopher Johnston, "Gist Family of Baltimore County," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, VIII (1913), 373-381; Wilson Gee, *The Gist Family of South Carolina and its Maryland Antecedents* (1934), pp. 3-20; Katherine W. Blakeslee, *Mordecai Gist and His American Progenitors* (1923); and J. T. Scharf, *History of Western Maryland* (1882), I, 75, II, 920-923.

<sup>4</sup> Baltimore County R. M. no. H. S., 331. The name is spelled "Guest."

<sup>5</sup> Gee, *op. cit.*, pp. 5-6. Francis B. Culver in his article, "Cromwell Family, A Possible Cromwell Clue," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XIII (1918), 386-403, found no evidence to support such a claim of relationship.



and General Mordecai Gist,<sup>6</sup> and the brother of the Christopher Gist<sup>7</sup> who in 1753 guided George Washington into the wilds of Virginia and the Northwest on his mission to establish trade with the Indians. This Thomas Gist never lived at Friendship Valley Farm. His son Thomas may have lived there for a short time. The last Gist to own Friendship Valley Farm was the elder Thomas's great-great-grandson, Robert Gist, who died in 1937. His daughter, the author, was the last Gist born and the last Gist married in the old home which is located one half mile south of Westminster, Carroll County. It is now the property of Mr. A. J. Lamme, Jr., who named it Friendship Valley Farm.

Thomas Gist, Sr., fought in the French and Indian War and was at Braddock's defeat, Fort Duquesne, July 9, 1755. In all known records he is referred to as Captain Thomas Gist. He was a planter and surveyor of Baltimore County. In 1741 he surveyed the land, part of which is now Friendship Valley Farm, then granted to Edward Fell, and called "Fells Dale."<sup>8</sup> In 1774 Captain Thomas Gist and his son Thomas bought Fells Dale for £450 from "Allen Pearson of Liverpool in the County of Lancaster in the kingdom of Great Britain."<sup>9</sup> Here a substantial dwelling house, a wash house, a barn, a blacksmith shop, slave cabins, and wagon sheds were built. Tradition has it that all of these structures were built of logs. The wash house, all but one of the slave cabins, and the blacksmith shop were torn down during the lifetime of Robert Gist—the log wash house in 1896 and the blacksmith shop in 1916. One slave cabin stands today. Joshua Gist, son of Thomas, Sr., lived here in 1765, and to this house he brought his bride, Sarah Harvey, in 1772. Ten of their twelve children were born in the log house and the last two in the brick house which was built by that time.

The will of Thomas Gist, Sr., dated 1787, reads, "I also Give Devise and Bequeth unto my son Joshua all of that part of a tract of land called Fells Dale it being the land where my said son Joshua now lives."<sup>10</sup> After his father's death, Col.

<sup>6</sup> *Dictionary of American Biography*, VII, 324-325.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, VII, 323-324.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. record of resurvey, MS in the possession of the author.

<sup>9</sup> Original deed in the possession of the author. At that time £450 was a large sum to pay for wilderness land. Thomas Gist, however, knew the quality of this tract because his son Joshua had acquired a 30-acre tract called "Long Ridge" that lay within Fells Dale.

<sup>10</sup> Baltimore County Wills, liber 4, f. 297, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

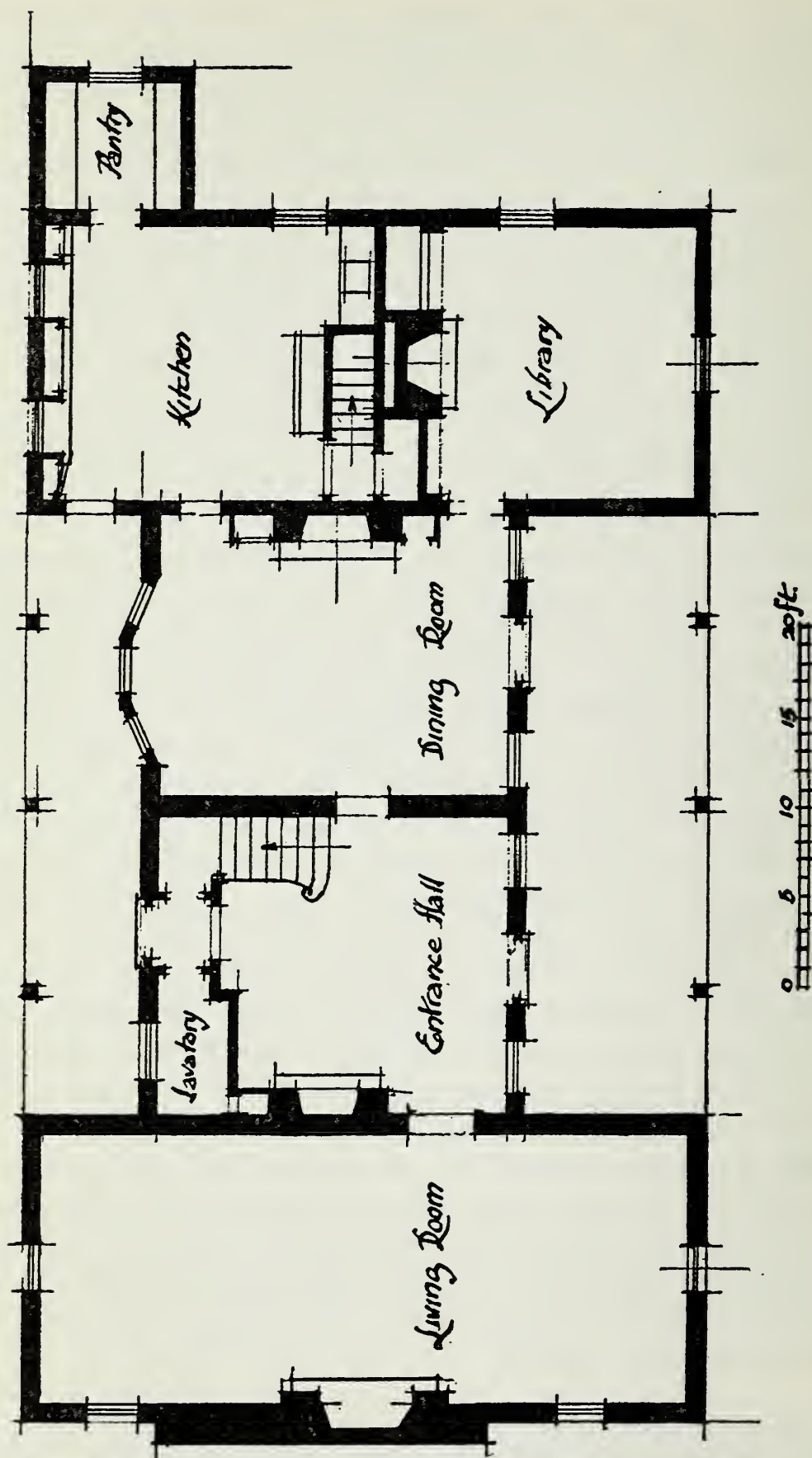
Joshua Gist applied for a resurvey. This resurvey was made in December, 1791, and was patented June 4, 1793.<sup>11</sup> The land resurveyed totalled 468 acres and was then partly in Frederick and partly in Baltimore counties, now Carroll County.

Between 1790 and 1795, reliable family tradition has it—though the exact date is not recorded, a slave woman, homesick for a more urban life, during the absence of the family carried the furniture out of the original log house, strewed live coals through the rooms, and burned it down.<sup>12</sup> By doing this she hoped to force the family to move to Baltimore. She did not accomplish her purpose because the family moved into the wash house, and in 1795 Col. Joshua Gist completed a brick house near the site of the log dwelling. The bricks were made on the place; some of them are twenty-two inches long.

Everything about this home is simplicity itself. It was at first a one-room deep house, as were many early Maryland farm houses; but partitions have gone up and come down since then. Nevertheless, this home has managed to keep much of its original character. It is shaped like a fat, capital letter I and originally had a gambrel roof. To get this effect the roof, without dormer windows, covered the inset porches front and back. These two-storied porches are of brick on the ground floor and of wood for the second story, which has a balustrade. The three white wooden porch columns were supported at their base by four iron legs of "Dutch club foot" design, which protected the base of the columns from rot by dampness. The outside walls were covered with plaster, to make a smooth surface when the slaves white-washed them each spring; for every building and fence, too, gleamed with their yearly coat of fresh white. The late Robert Gist removed this plaster and had the bricks painted. He also changed the gambrel roof to the present gable, in this way improving the second story rooms. Otherwise the exterior of the house is as it was the day it was built. On the inside many of the eighteen-inch-thick brick partitions are still there, and all the mantels are the original ones—even those above the few fireplaces that were rebuilt.

<sup>11</sup> MS in the possession of the author.

<sup>12</sup> The foundations of this house were in evidence for many decades. The author and her sister when children played there often. Recently a bulldozer was used to obliterate these remains of the house.



FLOOR PLAN OF FRIENDSHIP VALLEY FARM

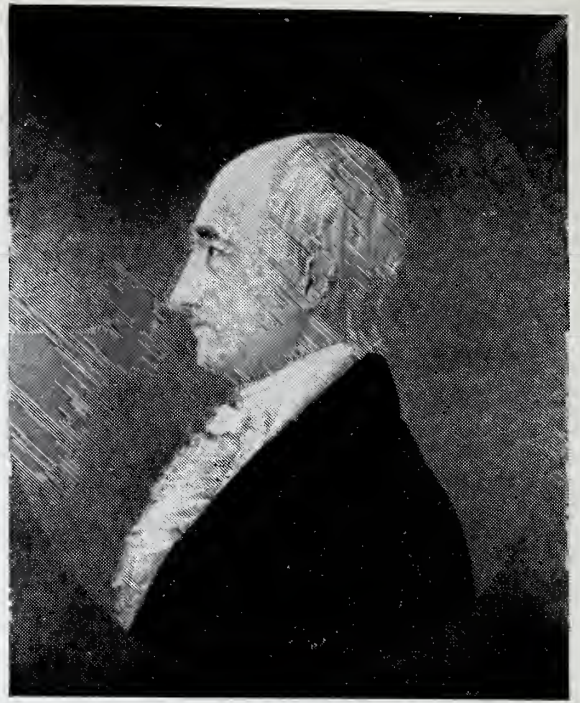




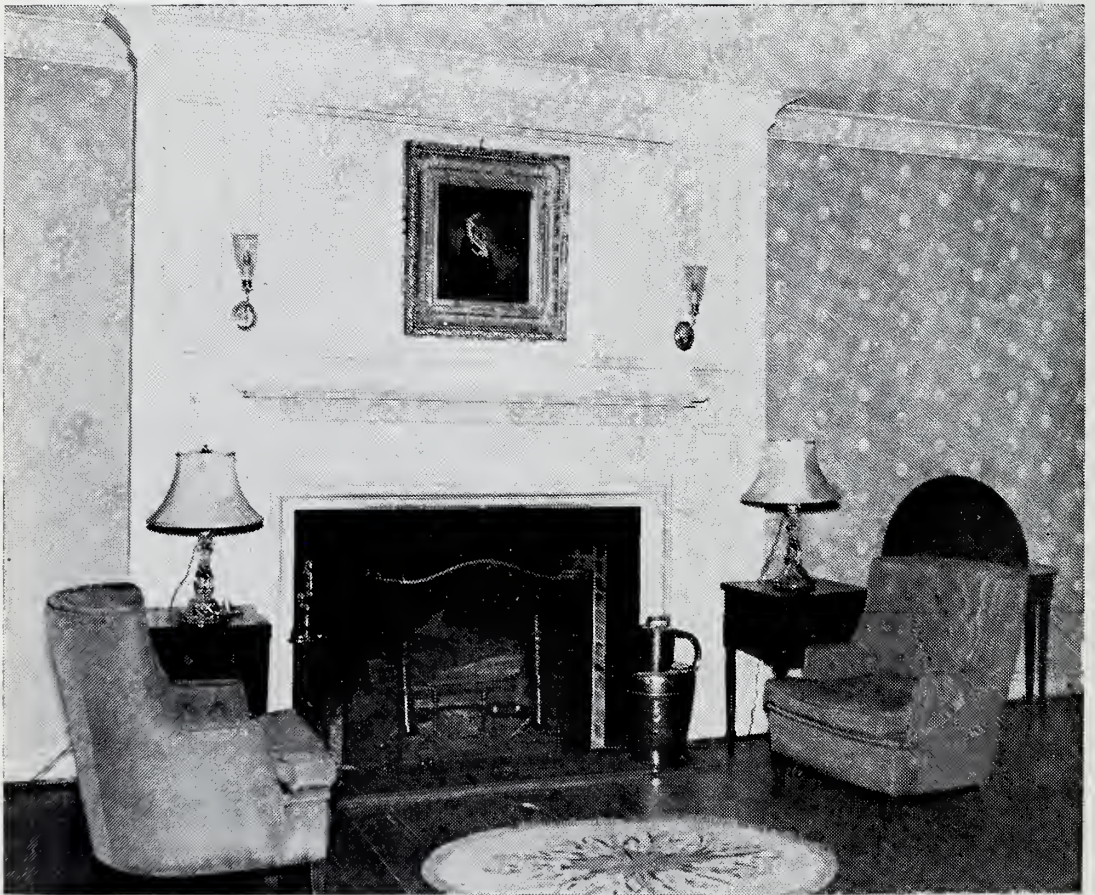
REAR VIEW OF FRIENDSHIP VALLEY FARM.

Showing "New" Wash House with Bell Tower.





COL. JOSHUA GIST AND HIS WIFE SARAH (HARVEY) GIST.  
Portraits thought to have been painted ca. 1800-1807. Initialed "JAM" or "JMA."



PANELED OVERMANTEL AND FIREPLACE IN THE DRAWING ROOM.



What this house lacks in grandeur is made up in quaintness. There are two front entrances, one into the dining room and one into the front hall. Each entrance has a single, batten door hung on long hand-wrought, iron hinges. The inner side is plain with nail heads showing but the outer is paneled. To Col. Joshua Gist the paneled side had a special meaning. He called it the Cross and Bible, because he wished all to enter his home by the sign of the Cross, a home blessed with the Bible. Only one of the front doors still has the original wrought-iron latch, a type much in style when the house was built. It was locked on the inside by pushing a bolt into a socket and on the outside by unscrewing the handle and carrying it off as one would carry a key. So large was this handle that it could be used for a weapon of defense if its carrier was assailed by a highwayman. Family tradition has it that on several occasions it came in handy for just that purpose.

The main halls, connected by the front stairway, both downstairs and upstairs, are large, square rooms, each with an open fireplace. A door opposite the front door once opened to a view of a pretty boxwood garden. Of the boxwood, the lilac, and the sweet shrub, not one remains. The only evidence that once such a garden existed is an English boxwood which the author saw the late Robert Gist transplant from the garden to the front yard. The original stairway is gone, but the new one is in keeping with the rest of the house. The original was a replica of the one at Colonel Joshua's childhood home, Stone Hall, located near Shawan, Baltimore County. However, the identical molded chair rails in each hall as well as the mantels are the original ones.

To the left of the front door is a drawing room that is forty feet long and sixteen feet wide. It has four eighteen-paned windows, one at each end and two on the side. At first there were two open fireplaces to keep the room warm in the coldest weather; now the two chimneys are connected to one fireplace. Here as elsewhere in the house there is no attempt at elaboration. The overmantel has the plainest panel and joins a simple molded cornice at the ceiling. The floors in the drawing room and the halls are the original oak boards, which range from four to six inches in width.

It was in the drawing room that all the family parties, weddings, and funerals took place. During the last two years of Colonel Joshua Gist's life when he became too feeble to climb the stairs



(he lived to be 91) one end of the drawing room was partitioned off for his bedroom. Here he kept his coffin, into which he would have his personal servant lay him out and then call the family to comment on his appearance. Each time he would ask them to promise not to bury him until the third day after his death. He feared being buried alive, because his brother, General Mordecai Gist, was thought to be dead in the 1780s and would have been buried, but the family awaited the arrival of General Mordecai's dearest friend, General Nathanael Greene. On the third day, when he did arrive, General Greene asked to be allowed to sit for a little while beside his dead friend. He noticed that General Gist moved one eyelid. General Gist was revived and lived several years longer, married the third time, and had another son. Since then the Gists have kept their dead three days before burial.

The dining room, on the other side of the hall, duplicates the size of the halls. It, too, has a chair board and an open fireplace. To the left of the fireplace is a plain paneled cupboard, where the Gists kept their jellies and preserves. The china was stored in a Hepplewhite corner cupboard and a Hepplewhite sideboard.

The kitchen, one end of which was formerly used as a spinning room, is at the opposite end of the house from the drawing room. The old kitchen was identical in design with the kitchen in the Potts-Howes house, Washington's headquarters at Valley Forge, except that it was twice as large. The end that was a spinning room is now partitioned off as a library study and has an open fireplace.

A few paces from the back door stands the "new wash house," built in 1860. From that year until 1896 there were two wash houses, the old log one and the new weatherboarded one. The newer one is a two-story, two room house with a bell tower on top. The upstairs room was the hired men's bedroom. The large downstairs room was used for a summer kitchen during the warm months, for apple-butter boiling and butchering during the cold months; and there each Monday the washing was done. The bell in the tower is the old one. It has a clear tone all its own, because there is reputed to be a small amount of gold in its metal composition. This bell for almost two centuries has been heard for miles around, announcing mealtime or summoning help in an emergency.

Col. Joshua Gist commanded the 20th Maryland militia which

guarded the State against Tory uprisings during the American Revolution. The regiment was called to active duty and helped quell the Whiskey Rebellion. The brigade orders to subdue this uprising, a list of officers and men, and a description of their uniforms are recorded in his day book.<sup>13</sup>

Colonel Gist was reared in the Anglican faith. As a youth he attended a private seminary, St. Paul's Parish School, conducted by an Episcopal clergyman. However, he became a staunch Methodist, who lodged and paid the first Methodist circuit rider in America. He built a schoolhouse, which is still standing, and boarded and paid the teacher, so that the children of the community could learn their three R's. Here on Sunday Methodist meetings were held. The Colonel was a leader in politics, and near the end of his life he was instrumental in the formation of Carroll County from parts of Frederick and Baltimore counties. He died in 1838 and is buried in the Gist family graveyard, an acre of his plantation which he willed to the Gist family forever. Here is buried General Mordecai's older son, Independent, who married Colonel Joshua's daughter Rachel. She, too, is buried here, as are their son Mordecai and their grandson Robert Gist, the last Gist of Friendship Valley Farm.

Only three families since the white man came have lived on Friendship Valley Farm: Gist, Herth, and Lamme. The Herths bought it after Robert Gist's death, but Mr. George Herth lived only a short time. After his death Mr. A. J. Lamme, Jr., purchased it and is living there today.

<sup>13</sup> MS volume in the possession of the author. The order for uniforms reads: "Cavalry Short coatees blue faced with Buff—Buff waistcoats and breaches yellow buttons cocked Hats—Infantry Long Coats faced with red White Waiscoats and breaches white cocked Hats feathers tip with red. Light Infantry Short coatees Blue two Row of small white buttons each Side lighr made overalls of Blue Round Hatts covered with Bear Skinn a side cock with small white buttons Riffle company Orange Colored Hunting Shirts light overalls of same color Round Hats covered with bever Skins a side cock with small white button the whole Burgade to wear Black stocks F Baly Brigader."

# THOMAS JOHN CLAGGETT: ARREST AND IMPRISONMENT, 1861-62

Edited by WILLIAM D. HOYT, JR.

**D**URING the night of September 17, 1861, nineteen members of the Maryland Legislature were arrested on suspicion of disloyalty to the Federal Government, or perhaps more accurately, on suspicion of sympathy with the Confederacy. The arrests were made on orders from Major General John A. Dix, military commander of the Department of Maryland, as part of the effort to keep Maryland on the Union side of the conflict then increasing in size and vigor. It was feared that the Maryland Legislature, scheduled to meet in Frederick (where Southern sympathies were thought to be less strong than in Annapolis), would pass an ordinance of secession, and that such action might lead to the loss of the national capital and possibly the Union cause.<sup>1</sup>

Among those taken in charge and carried to Fort McHenry in Baltimore were three members of the House of Delegates from Frederick County: Andrew Kessler, William E. Salmon, and Thomas John Claggett.<sup>1a</sup> At noon on September 19, they were taken to Annapolis and put on board the steamship *Baltimore* for transfer to Fort Lafayette in New York harbor.<sup>2</sup> Later, the group was moved again, this time still farther northward, to Fort Warren in Boston harbor; and there they remained until

<sup>1</sup> The situation in Maryland and Baltimore is described fully in Morgan Dix, *Memoirs of John Adams Dix* (New York, 1883), II, 24-35. The arrest of the legislators was suggested by General George B. McClellan and was directed by Secretary of War Simon Cameron with the approval of President Lincoln and Governor Thomas H. Hicks. See William B. Hesseltine, *Lincoln and the War Governors* (New York, 1948), p. 214.

<sup>1a</sup> Claggett was the grandson of Thomas John Claggett (1743-1816), first Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Maryland.—EDITOR.

<sup>2</sup> *Baltimore Sun*, September 20, 1861. On September 3, Dix wrote McClellan that he did not think Fort McHenry a suitable place for political prisoners. "It is too near the seat of war, which may probably be extended to us. It is also too near a great town, in which are multitudes who sympathize with them, . . ." Dix, *Memoirs*, II, 29. The book does not mention any individual cases.



they were released on various dates throughout the following winter.

The reactions of Thomas John Claggett to his arrest and imprisonment, together with the impressions of others concerned in his case, make an interesting study illustrative of the confusion existing at the outbreak of war between the North and the South. Claggett was patently bewildered at the turn of events, did not understand why he was arrested, and continued to proclaim his innocence of wrong-doing. His friends exerted considerable influence to procure his release, and his brother-in-law, Dr. Thomas Maddox, of Tappan's Cross Roads, Washington County, carried on a vigorous correspondence with men prominent in public life with the same end in view.<sup>3</sup>

The Federal officers involved in the matter held contrary opinions, however. General Nathaniel Banks' aide-de-camp, R. Morris Copeland, reported from Frederick on September 18, the day after the arrest, that Claggett was among "seven members of the house of a very bitter character," and on the 23rd General Dix, commanding in Baltimore, named Claggett as one of the "decided secessionists."<sup>4</sup> A government memorandum concerning the arrested members of the Maryland Legislature described Claggett as "known to be one of the faction of that body which engaged in plots to pass an act of secession in that State."<sup>5</sup> Evidently, the member from Frederick County was a marked man in the eyes of officialdom.

Claggett's first letter to Dr. Maddox from Fort Warren was dated November 12 and gave a general picture of the conditions under which the imprisoned legislators existed:

Fort Warren Boston Harb

My dear Sir

I received your letter of the 3rd Nov and was happy to learn that you were all well & enjoying yourselves. . . .

I am also pleased to hear that you think the new rector of St Marks a good selection. We have had religious services every sunday since I have

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<sup>3</sup> The Maddox letters (Miscellaneous Manuscripts, Vertical File) in the Maryland Historical Society deal with this episode and include the letters from Claggett to Maddox quoted below.

<sup>4</sup> *The War of the Rebellion; Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (130 vols., Washington, 1894-1900), Series 2, I, 683-89 *passim*. (Hereafter cited as *O.R.*).

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 672-73, quoting Record Book, State Department, "Arrests for Disloyalty."

been in the forts except the first. At Lafayette an ex Lieutenant of the Navy read the episcopal service and a sermon. Here we enjoy the services of a presbyterian preacher who was captured with another big gun by Col. Geary at Harpers ferry. There are men here of almost all professions and classes in social life. We have an attendance of good society if intellectual and cultivated persons all of one sex can constitute good society, for altho in the land of the Pilgrim Fathers I have met with none of the pilgrim daughters.

Tell sister that I am much more comfortable here than she would suppose. I occupy a very good room finished nicely and intended for an officer of the Fort. Those who have money and think proper to use it can have almost any thing they may want. We have daily communication with Boston and get all important news as soon as we would at home. . . .

I do not in the least wonder that you were unable to find out why I became a state prisoner when I myself have no way of knowing. I can imagine no reason for it except my accidental connection with the Legislature and therefore have made no move in the matter preferring to wait until after the election, when that reason for my detention will have ceased. Instead of my informing you of the charges against me, I have to ask you to try and find out what they are and what ought to be done. Possibly if you meet with your Senator Mr. Fiery you might learn something. Please let me hear from you.

Yours truly

Thos. Jno. Claggett

Nov 12th 61<sup>6</sup>

Meanwhile, Dr. Maddox had begun his campaign to procure Claggett's release. On October 10, he wrote to Charles B. Calvert, Maryland member of Congress, about the arrest:

Mr. Claggett is not in favor of secession; and has never given 'aid or comfort' to the enemy; is a quiet and peaceable farmer. He was arrested in his house—on his farm. His arrest I believe was at the instance of evil-disposed neighbors who have misrepresented—probably misunderstood—his position.<sup>7</sup>

Governor Hicks was contacted, and on November 12 he wrote Secretary of State William E. Seward that to liberate such men as Claggett "will do us little injury in Maryland."<sup>8</sup> The Rt. Rev. William R. Whittingham, Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Maryland, expressed sympathy with Claggett's difficulties, but said he knew no one among state or national officials, and besides had

<sup>6</sup> MS., Maddox letters. Omissions in all three of Claggett's letters are purely personal comments.

<sup>7</sup> *O.R.*, *op. cit.*, p. 700. Calvert (1808-64) was active in the movement to create a Department of Agriculture.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 705.



made it a positive policy never to ask favors of any kind from civil authorities. He would, however, continue to appeal to a Higher Power on Claggett's behalf.<sup>9</sup> Even George R. Dodge, provost marshal in Baltimore, in a memorandum to General Dix on the position of the political prisoners in the public estimation, listed Claggett as "voted wrong; not otherwise obnoxious; has but little influence."<sup>10</sup>

As Christmas drew nearer, renewed efforts were made to obtain the release of the Maryland men in Fort Warren. On December 20, Francis Thomas, former Governor and the Congressman from Western Maryland, wrote General Dix on behalf of Claggett and his colleague, Salmon. Thomas pointed out the willingness of both gentlemen to take an oath of allegiance and added that Claggett had refused to go to Frederick to meet with the Legislature and was arrested at home. General Dix concurred in recommending freedom for the two men and forwarded the letter to Seward on the 21st.<sup>11</sup> Claggett was offered his discharge early in January, on condition that he take the required oath, but he refused liberty on such terms.<sup>12</sup>

The situation remained the same, then, when on January 22, 1862, Dr. Maddox wrote Reverdy Johnson, former United States Senator and former Attorney General, and at the time a member of Maryland's House of Delegates.

He [Claggett] is a quiet, peaceable citizen; [said Maddox], a sober, upright, honest citizen who has had but little to [do] with politics. He is a Protestant, an old Whig and has therefore had but little to do with Governor Lowe.<sup>13</sup> He has been a vestryman for many years, a church member, a Sunday-school teacher; was always fond of children; and often amuses himself at the trickery and criminations of politicians. He is not the man for plots and treason, for conspiracy and rebellion.<sup>14</sup>

Two days later, January 24, the incumbent delegates from Frederick County in the Maryland Legislature issued a joint statement

<sup>9</sup> Whittingham to Maddox, November 22, 1861, Maddox letters.

<sup>10</sup> *O.R.*, *op. cit.*, p. 713. November 27, 1861.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 720-21. Salmon was discharged on December 27 after taking the required oath, and the third Frederick County arrestee, Kessler, had left Fort Warren on the 20th. [Lawrence Sangston], *The Bastiles of the North* (Baltimore, 1863), pp. 117, 121.

<sup>12</sup> *O.R.*, *op. cit.*, p. 673.

<sup>13</sup> Enoch Louis Lowe (1820-92) had served as Governor of Maryland during 1851-54. He was a strong advocate of secession and was bitter in his denunciation of Governor Hick's pro-Union activities. In 1862 he was living in exile in Georgia.

<sup>14</sup> *O.R.*, *op. cit.*, p. 732.



that they regarded Claggett "as a harmless, peaceable and respectable citizen" and that his release would be "very acceptable" to them and to the people of Frederick County generally.<sup>15</sup> Both Maddox's letter and this declaration were sent by Johnson to Seward, and on February 10 the Secretary of State wrote Johnson that some Maryland prisoners had declined the oath of allegiance under a misapprehension that it would bind them to render active support to the United States Government, but that the oath had been modified and would be re-offered to them.<sup>16</sup>

Claggett's further reaction to his case and to the conditions in Fort Warren was described in a second, undated letter to Dr. Maddox, containing some colorful passages:

. . . Having no tolerable excuse to offer for my unkind neglect I shall not attempt a lame one. To be sure not having the ability to concentrate my mind enough to write in a noisy crowded room, I find it very difficult to correspond at all. We have eight in one room, where we sit, sleep, read and write, play whist, play the Guitar & fiddle, sing Dixie, sing the Star Spangled banner, dance, sing hymns, study the lives of the saints and the character of the martyrs, (as one of my room mates is now doing) and have a great time generally. If I had known in time that the government intended to immortalize me thus; I should have tried to educate myself up to the position, but it is too late now. My early training will prevent me from ever enjoying a life in the Forts.

This place would be very interesting to you for a short time. There are so many people to *talk to* and so many things to talk about. We have men of all kinds of genius and from all kinds of places. One of my room mates is from Canada (Lord Lyons is attending to his case), another from the far south who altho he speaks Spanish french and English never saw its shore except here [*sic*]. I am in earnest in saying that by way of variety you might spend a week or two here quite pleasantly. There are some very knowing people here and you could get more out of them in a week than I could in a month. If you are inclined to try it just go to that liberal and enlightened City of Frederick and sing Dixie. They will suspect you of being a suspicious character (That is the whole thing against me I believe) and will send you here with a military escort and all the honors of war. When you get tired, you can swear that you are a nice man and go home at your own expense.

You say that the Camanchee Indians claim that their native born citizens owe allegiance to their government. I say so too. I owe a native allegiance to my country more sacred and binding than any naturalization oath can

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<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 733.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 737. On February 14, Col. J. Dimick, commanding at Fort Warren, reported to Seward that Claggett declined to take the oath of allegiance. *Ibid.*, p. 738.

make. I say distinctly, that in my case that allegiance has not been violated. I do not believe that the Camanchee's take up their citizens without an accusation and without accuser and send them to far distant prisons permitting them to be charged with all kinds of rascality and giving them no opportunity to face the accuser and disprove his charges. Be pleased to recollect the 25th chapter of the Acts of the Apostles latter part. Commend me to the heathen Festus and to the Camanchee Indians. . . .<sup>17</sup>

Spring was in the air, in Maryland if not at Fort Warren, when Claggett wrote his brother-in-law at length concerning his puzzlement as to what steps to take:

Fort Warren March 6th

My dear Sir

I received your kind letter of the 28th. I owe you many apologies for my neglect to answer your letter and acknowledge the debt I owe you for the trouble you have taken and sympathy shown for my self and family. But really I have been in such a strange position that I never could make up my mind what to ask you to do.

Until recently, I knew that no one could be released from here however good his case or influential his friends without taking an oath. I had already taken an oath to support the Constitution and laws of the United States which I had not violated or intended to violate. I did not wish to give countenance to the imputation that I had done so either by taking an oath (which other citizens of Maryland were not required to take) or in any other way. To the parole now offered I have less objection, tho I consider it wrong to require that of me.

You say that a discharge or parole is the highest compliment government can pay a real or supposed enemy in time of war. Now that is the very thing I complain of, that the government should treat me as an enemy at all. That it should hold me up as a traitor, confine me for six months in a Bastille and then on the 22nd of February perform a work of supererogation and forgive me when there is nothing to forgive. I do not like the idea that innocent and guilty should all be thrown together publicly accused and released on the same terms. However I am exceedingly anxious to be at home and I suppose I shall have to take the best terms I can get. You perceive from the papers that several of the influential members of legislature have gone out on parole. It was offered to others here who declined to do so. I supposed from the order of the war department that it would be offered to all who were not considered too important and dangerous to be released. If that is the charge against me, the worst part of it is, that it cant be proved at home where I am known. I do not know why it has not been offered to me. The new commissioners will probably have the matter in hand and attend to it. I hear they are to be in New

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<sup>17</sup> MS., Maddox letters. Acts 25 tells the story of Festus bringing Paul before King Agrippa at Caesarea and speaking on the case. Verse 27 reads (King James version): "For it seemeth to me unreasonable to send a prisoner and not withal to signify the crimes laid against him."

York and will probably come here. I do not think you could do any thing by going to Washington now. The matter I suppose is in the hands of Genl. Dix and his colleagues. You might write to Genl Dix and find out what charges are against me and what he intends doing in the matter. I wrote to the Secretary of War some days since stating my case and saying that I thot I ought to have an unconditional release. I suppose he has his hands full just now. It is possible in a short time we will hear from Genl Dix;

An order from the Secretary of State would admit you into Fort Warren for about an hour and a half where you could see me in the Commanders room in presence of an officer. You would not be allowed to stay longer. For such a visit it would hardly pay you to take the trip. . . .

Yours truly

Thos Jno Claggett <sup>18</sup>

Apparently, Claggett's sister was becoming weary of the entire affair and wanted her brother back with her. In February she had written Dr. Maddox, "I have been begging Mr C to let his friends try if they could do something in the matter; but he has always looked upon the whole of it as being so unjust, that he did not seem to care about troubling his friends."<sup>19</sup> Now, on March 14, she relayed further word from the prisoner:

I received a letter from mr. Claggett yesterday and enclose it to you to day. You will see that he is willing to accept the parole if offered. Why it was not offered him I can't conceive. . . . There is no other chance for Mr. Claggett's getting home now I reckon but his accepting the Parole if offered, which I think any of them might accept. The greatest difficulty I see is how he can get the Parole offered him.<sup>20</sup>

Early in March, the Government issued an order which provided for the release on parole of those political prisoners who had refused to take an oath of allegiance. On March 29, General Dix and Edwards Pierrepont, acting as commissioners to deal with state prisoners, ordered the release of Claggett and others when they gave written parole to render no aid or comfort to enemies of the United States.<sup>21</sup> It was under this directive that Thomas Claggett ended his six-months' incarceration. It may be assumed that he returned to his farm at Petersville and to the company of his family and friends.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>19</sup> Ann P. Claggett to Maddox, February 21, 1862, Maddox letters.

<sup>20</sup> MS., Maddox letters.

<sup>21</sup> *O.R., op. cit.*, p. 744.



## A NEW YORKER IN MARYLAND: 1793 AND 1821<sup>1</sup>

JAMES KENT (1763-1847) is known to generations of lawyers for his *Commentaries on American Law*.<sup>2</sup> A graduate of Yale College in 1781, Kent practiced law in New York after the Revolution. He was an unsuccessful candidate for Congress in 1792 and later served three terms in the New York state assembly. Columbia College appointed him its first professor of law. His service on the bench culminated in his appointment as chancellor of the New York Court of Chancery. After his compulsory retirement in 1823 at the age of 60, Chancellor Kent wrote the volumes that are the chief basis of his fame.

Not long after his unsuccessful candidacy to Congress, Kent was employed by James Greenleaf, a speculator in Washington, D. C. real estate, to make a trip to the capitol city. The journal he kept of the trip made between December 5, 1793, and January 3, 1794, records vividly the young man's impressions of what he saw and heard. Travelling by public stage, Kent and his

<sup>1</sup> The original manuscript journals from which these extracts were taken are in the James Kent Papers in the Library of Congress. A microfilm copy of the journals covering these trips is now available in the Library of the Maryland Historical Society. Our attention was drawn to these journals by an article by Frederick R. Goff, "The Federal City in 1793," *Library of Congress Quarterly Journal of Current Acquisitions*, 9 (1951-1952), 3-8. Mr. Goff describes the recent gift from Mr. Arthur A. Houghton, Jr., of Tobias Lear's pamphlet, *Observations on the River Potomack* (New York, 1793), in which Kent had written his impressions of Georgetown.

In the extracts here printed raised letters have been brought down to the line, script S's have been eliminated, and periods, commas, or other punctuation marks have been substituted where deemed necessary for many of the dashes found in the manuscript.

Grateful acknowledgment is made to Elizabeth Merritt, Marion Brewington, William B. Marye, James W. Foster, Francis C. Haber, Edith Rossiter Bevan, and Catherine M. Shelley who have substantially assisted in the preparation of these materials for publication.—EDITOR.

<sup>2</sup> (4 vols., 1826-1830). Six editions were published during Kent's life and eight subsequently. See *Dictionary of American Biography*, X, 344-347.

companions<sup>3</sup> stopped in Philadelphia and attended a levee held by President George Washington.<sup>4</sup> They also

visited the celebrated Museum of *Peal*. The principal *live* Curiosities were a Baboon & Monkey, a white Owl, a white-headed eagle, a Hawk, a Rattlesnake, & a Cow with 5 Legs.<sup>5</sup> I was much pleased with his interesting Collection of Portrait Paintings of the 1st Congress in 1774, & of several Generals in our late Army.

The portion of Kent's journal (or Memorandum, as he called it) describing Maryland is printed on the following pages. It will be noted that he expressed a desire to return to New York by way of Frederick, Lancaster, and York for "this would have given me a View of the finest Inland Country in America." This he could not do, but nearly three decades later (in 1821) he had the opportunity. On this occasion he took his daughter, Eliza Kent Hone, to Washington, returning through Western Maryland. Though brief, this account gives a welcome description of parts of Montgomery, Frederick, and Carroll counties.

I. Christiana, Delaware, to Washington, D. C., and Return: 1793.

Chrystine is 3 Miles S. of this Village [Stanton]. [It] Is much larger, & quite snug, [and] lies in a Vale with good lowlands & mills on *Christiana-Creek*, where Sloops come & the Tide. This is the same Creek that flows to Stanton & S. of Wilmington. From here we bid adieu even to the tributary streams of the Delaware, & bend our Course S. W. to the Head of Elk. Here we also bid adieu to good Roads, & good Soil for the Country from here quite down to the Potowmac is thin, & the Roads in general thro Maryland shamefully neglected. from Newport to

*Elkton* a pleasant & neat looking Town at the Head of Elk River in Maryland is 18 miles as the old Post Road runs, but 16 as the new *Turnpike* Road from Elkton is to go. This Road is already cut for 3 Miles E. of the Town on a straight line towards Chrystine, is very wide & spacious, paved [?] in the center & with Ditches on the Sides. This Village is called 49 Miles from Phil[adelphia]. The 2 forks of Elk River join here. Sloops come up, & the Tide rises 7 or 8 feet. From this place down to the Chesapeak is 20 Miles, & is called Elk River tho it resembles a Bay. Howe landed some Miles below the Village in 1777 as Ships cannot come within several Miles.<sup>6</sup> There are no less than 4 places

<sup>3</sup> Greenleaf and "Mr. Charles Lagarenne a French Gentleman."

<sup>4</sup> The description of the levee is printed in Goff, *op. cit.*, 3.

<sup>5</sup> See Charles Coleman Sellers, *Charles Willson Peale* (1939-1947), I, 5, 252 ff.; II, 23, *passim*. The five-legged cow, gift of a Maryland patron, was taken to Philadelphia by Peale after one of his painting trips. She was afterwards stuffed and mounted—giving milk to a two-headed calf! Sellers to editor, February 27, 1952.

<sup>6</sup> Sir William Howe. See J. T. Scharf, *History of Maryland* (1879), II, 310-319, and George Johnston, *History of Cecil County* (1881), pp. 327-336.

proposed as Canals to join Chesapeak & Delaware & 3 of them on Elk River below Elkton. Some of them are proposed to join Christiana Creek. There is a very neat 2 story brick Court House here, this being a County Town & within 3 Miles of Delaware State. This Town stands on a plain considerably elevated above the low marshy Borders of the 2 Rivers. From here to

*North-East* is 7 Miles; poor hilly Country; Iron Works frequent—one at N. E. rents for £750 Ml. annually. The N. E. a little River runs into a Bay here called N. E. Bay into which the Tide flows. There is here no appearance of a Town. In riding thro Delaware we seem to be in Connecticut from the cultivated & settled appearance of the Towns & Country, but from Elkton quite to George-Town as the Post Road goes, the Country is with few exceptions poor, hilly & thinly settled.

*Charleston* is 3 Miles from N. E. in a S. W. Course. Here you are at the head of the Chesapeak, & have a very wide View for 30 Miles down, & can see on the E. Where the Elk & N. E. Rivers come in, & on the W. where the Susquehannah empties. This place must be very pleasant in Summers, but it consists only of poor fishing Huts, & looks in wretched decay & Soil & Houses bear every aspect of Poverty & Ruin. It is however one of the greatest *herring* fishery places in the U. S., & 2,000 Waggon are loaded annually in the Spring with the fish, & transport them into all the back Country.<sup>7</sup> From here to the

*Mouth of the Susquehannah* is 6 Miles making 65 Miles from Phil. When you come within a Mile of the River, you perceive a great & sudden alteration in the Soil. It becomes level & rich, & the Timber tall & good. This River is here 1 Mile wide; the Tide rises, but it is too shallow for a Harbor. a View up the River as we cross the ferry is very romantic, an Island is just above, & the Banks are steep & rugged. It resembles very much a View up the Hudson from Poughkeepsie. This River is navigable for 6 Miles up with small Craft, & then is interrupted by Rapids. The fall in 1 Mile some say 10 others 40 feet. It is several Years since attempts have been made to open these falls by Locks. a canal is partly finished. Some say £500, others £25,000 will be requisite to complete the Canal & Locks, & open this River here. The next Obstruction in this River is above Wrights' Ferry in Penn. but easily removed, & then the River is navigable to the Source. Was this River open, the Produce could come down, & then enter this canal contemplated by Maryland between the Chesapeak & Delaware, & which need not be above 12 Miles long & proceed to Phil. There is no good Harbor at Havre de Grace or that would be a great place when the Susquehannah is cleared. Produce would probably go to Anapolis as that is more handy & a better Harbor than Baltimore. On my Return from George-Town the latter End of December I was detained two Days at this Ferry. The Ice prohibited a Passage.

*Havre de Grace* is a very pleasantly situated little Village of decent 2 Story brick Houses on the W. Side of the Susquehannah. The place

<sup>7</sup> See Johnston, *op. cit.*, pp. 472-475.



commands a very extensive View into the Chesapeak, & the Hills back of the Ferry on each Side such as Mount Felix & Mount Pleasant<sup>8</sup> wh are decorated with handsome Country Seats. The good Land & fine Scenery about the Mouth of this River form a very striking & pleasant Contrast to the dreary & barren Country between that & Elkton.

*Harford* or Bush Town so called from a little Creek of that Name into which the Tide comes as far as this place is 12 Miles W. of the River. This small Village is in a Vale. The Land for the first 6 or 8 Miles from the Ferry is excellent, being level, well timbered & cultivated. It yields 15 or 20 Bushels of wheat an acre, but is worn out. good and comfortable farms appear along the Road. a little W. of Harford on a very commanding Hill is a small Village & a College called Abingdon College founded in 1785 by the Methodists.<sup>9</sup> The Building is 3 Story, of Brick, an unfinished Balcony in the Middle, 12 large Windows in Front, in each Story— & perhaps 120 feet long. The Methodists sent to England for a President, but could git no methodist Principal. an Episcopal Clergyman has now the Superintendency.<sup>10</sup> There have been upwards of 80 Scholars, but I am told the Seminary is decaying. Mr. Morse has given a humorous account in his Geography of the rigid & austere discipline in the College.<sup>11</sup>

*Baltimore* is 25 Miles westward of Harford being 37 from the Ferry, & including that, is 103 Miles from Philadelphia. The *red Lion Tavern* is ½ way between, the whole Country is poor, iron Soil, full of small Timber, & very sparcely settled.<sup>12</sup> I scarcely know a poorer or more univiting Country than from the Head of Elk to George-Town. The Land round

<sup>8</sup> "Mount Pleasant," built in 1757, was once the summer home of William Paca.

<sup>9</sup> The name of the College at Abingdon was Cokesbury, derived from the names of the first two Methodist bishops, Thomas Coke and Francis Asbury. The first Methodist college in the world, Cokesbury was in existence from 1785 to 1796. An attempt to revive the College in Baltimore after the fire in Abingdon in 1795 was unsuccessful. See G. W. Archer, *Authentic History of Cokesbury College* (1894), and B. C. Steiner, *History of Education in Maryland* (1894), pp. 229-245.

<sup>10</sup> Dr. Jacob Hall (1747-1812) served as president of the College from 1788 to 1794. See J. Hall Pleasants, "Jacob Hall, Surgeon and Educator, 1747-1812," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, VIII (1913), 223-230.

<sup>11</sup> Kent udoubtedly refers to the following paragraph in Jedidiah Morse, *American Universal Geography* (3rd ed., Boston, 1796), I, 592: "The students have regular hours for rising, for prayers, for their meals, for study, and for recreation. They are all to be in bed precisely at nine o'clock. Their recreation (for they are to be 'indulged in nothing which the world calls *play*'), are gardening, walking, riding and bathing without doors; and within doors, the carpenters, joiners, cabinet-makers or turners' business. Suitable provision is made for these several occupations, which are to be considered, not as matters of drudgery and constraint, but as pleasing and healthful recreations, both for the body and mind. Another of their rules, which though new and singular, is favourable to the health and vigour of the body and mind, is, that the students shall not sleep on feather beds, but on mattresses, and each one by himself. Particular attention is paid to the morals and religion of the students."

<sup>12</sup> On the main road to Philadelphia the Red Lion Inn was 13½ miles from Baltimore and is believed to have been built about 1760. Clement Skerrett advertised the reopening of the tavern in the *Maryland Journal* (Baltimore), November 12, 1784, p. 4.

Baltimore is naked & barren. This Town is surrounded with Hills on the E. & N., & embraces a Bason into which the Water at common Tides is 5 or 6 feet deep. The Town is therefore only accessible by small craft. large Ships come up to *Fell's Point* about a Mile below the Town, & between which & the Town is a creek with 2 Bridges over it, & Houses are scattered all the way. The Bridge at the E. End of Market Street <sup>13</sup> is wooden, & has one Arch. In other respects it is very inelegant. The other Bridge is of Stone. The Situation of the Town is low & murky, & was formerly unhealthy. Patapso [*sic*] River empties into the Bason on which Baltimore stands. The Entrance into Baltimore Harbor, about 1 Mile below Fell's Point is hardly pistol-Shot across, & may easily be defended. Baltimore has had the most rapid growth of any Town in the U. S. It was truly a hot Bed growth, & owing to enterprizing Capitalists. Howe's going to Phil. in 1777 likewise diverted the back Trade to Baltimore. The Sickness in Phil. this last Fall has done the same,<sup>14</sup> & Baltimore this Season will nearly rival Phil. in the export of wheat & Flour. This Town is built chiefly of brick. Its Houses are 3 Story-join[ed] together-are wide, & the Town appears to be better and more handsomely built than Phil. In 1760 there were not 10 brick Houses, whereas in 1787 It had 2000 Houses in the whole of which 800 were at Fell's Point, & had also 152 Stores. It has grown rapidly since, & has now perhaps 13,000 Souls. It is larger than Charlestown, but does not yet equal Boston either in Trade or Numbers, but Boston is stationary. The fine & growing commercial Towns around it clipp its' wings, & Boston is not larger now than it was 40 Years ago. In 1760 Baltimore was 10 times inferior to Anapolis, & was a paltry Village. From 1770 it took a Spring, & grew 100 fold in 1774. But it had not then more Prosperity than George-Town has now. It is now 10 times larger than Anapolis which is 30 Miles below it, & is the Seat of Government. But Anapolis has large & elegant Houses & is said to be the wealthiest Town of its Size in American & contains 260 Houses, & is planned like a circle with the Streets like radii beginning at a center where its noble Building the Stadt House stands, & diverging in every direction. Baltimore is not incorporated. It has a State-Bank & the Branch Bank here also & both full of Business.<sup>15</sup> It has the most elegant dancing Assembly Room in the U. S.<sup>16</sup> It is a 2 Story brick Building very long, & has a very elegant Appearance in Front. There are two Turnpike Roads which lead back of Baltimore upwards of 20 Miles to the End of the County. They contemplate one to Lancaster which is 80 Miles up, but it is only carried to the End of Baltimore County. They have no Tolls upon them, for they

<sup>13</sup> Now Baltimore Street.

<sup>14</sup> The yellow fever plague of 1793.

<sup>15</sup> The Bank of Maryland, established in 1784, was located on South Street near Lovely Lane (Redmond) Street. The Branch Bank of the Bank of the United States, established in Baltimore in 1792, was located at Gay and Second streets.

<sup>16</sup> "The Assembly Room Stands at the North-east corner of East [Fayette] and Holliday streets, and has perhaps the most elegant exterior of any building in the City; in one room of which is now kept the City Library [Library Company of Baltimore] consisting of an extensive collection of books in ancient and modern literature." *Baltimore Directory*, 1800-1801, p. 22.



were built at the expence of the County. They are raised in the Center, with ditches on the Side. But not being gravelled or paved the narrow waggon Wheels cut them very much.

The Staples of Maryland are Wheat & Tobacco. It exported last Year more than NYork, tho the weight of Tonnage was less. This serves to give us some Idea of Baltimore Trade & the resources of the back Country. a considerable French Fleet lay at Fell's Point, & there were in the Town 1100 French.<sup>17</sup> These are the wretched Fugitives from the melancholy Ruins of the *Cape*. markets have rose in Baltimore 50 per cent since July when they came. Wood was now 50/. a cord, & House Rents very high.

Market Street is the principal Street. It runs perfectly straight, nearly E. & W. It is a Mile in length, & bounded on the E. by the wooden Bridge I have noted. It resembles the main Street in Hudson; <sup>18</sup> at the W. End of it & nearly at right angles with it, is a very spacious Street <sup>18a</sup> laid out resembling Broadway in NY. This comes from the Country & descends gradually down to the W. End of the Town. The Streets are all neatly paved. a number of handsome, & well built cross Streets run across Market Street from the Hill on the N. down to the Stores & Wharfs. Tho the Houses are generally newer & more handsome than in Phil. they all have the same defect in wooden Roofs, & besides here they want numbering. The two main Streets at Fell's Point were also paved. In other respects that Point was muddy & low, & so were the warfs & Stores in Town.

There are 9 public Churches here, but only 4 of them attract Attention. These are all of brick, & without Steeples except the one at the W. End of the Town.<sup>19</sup> There is a delightful View of the Town & Harbor on the Heights N. of the Town, & some of them have handsome Country Seats. an episcopal Church stands on the Hill, & commands a noble Prospect.<sup>20</sup> It is a very neat 2 Story brick Building with a Steeple. It is surrounded by a large graveyard, with plenty of rich marble Tombs. a Presby. Church <sup>21</sup> is partly finished a little E. of it, & has 2 Steeples, one on each Side with a Front like St. Paul's Church at NY. & large Pillars supporting a Frontispiece & Roof above. The Market is in one of the cross Streets, is built of Brick, & is as long as the Fly Market at NY. They have another 4

<sup>17</sup> Contemporary newspapers have numerous references to the stream of vessels that came to Baltimore following the massacre at the French colony at Cape Francois, Haiti. See for instance the *Maryland Journal* (Baltimore), July 9, p. 3, July 12, p. 2, July 16, p. 3, and July 23, p. 2. The July 12 account reports that a committee was "appointed to examine the Situation of the French Fleet arrived in this Harbour, and ascertain the Number of Passengers and the Relief necessary to be given them."

<sup>18</sup> A town on the east side of the Hudson River about half way between Poughkeepsie and Albany.

<sup>18a</sup> Presumably Howard Street.

<sup>19</sup> Probably the German Reformed Church, Sharpe and Conway streets. The congregation subsequently moved to the present (Otterbein) church structure.

<sup>20</sup> The second St. Paul's building, erected between 1780 and 1784, was located at Charles and Saratoga.

<sup>21</sup> The second building of the First Presbyterian Church, known as the Two Steeple Church and erected between 1789 and 1791, stood on the corner of Fayette and North (Guilford) streets.



square market at the S.W. end of the Town with an open area in the center. The Court-House was near the Top of the Hill in one of the descending cross Streets, & originally 2 Stories with a small Steeple, but the Hill has been so dug away, as that a basement Story with an open arch under it, has since been added.<sup>22</sup> This throws the House (originally small) high in the Air, & destroys all Proportion. It has as bad an appearance as a Man on Stilts. Market Street is gently descending from the W. The cross Streets descends faster. They are all on a streight line, & generally sufficiently wide. The Stores are all of brick, & are very neat. Indeed the Town looks, new, elegant & prosperous in every part. It is 200 Miles from the Sea, & is principally fed now by the W. & S.W. which must all go to Washington, when the Potowmac is opened, & capitalists settle there. Neither the Situation of the Harbor, or of the Country round it, would naturally have led one to fix on Baltimore as a great Mart of Commerce. I think it must be now to its *ne plus ultra* in commercial Prosperity.

The day before I left NYork a Snow fell upwards of 1 foot. It began several Hours before at Baltimore & fell 2 feet on a level; at George-Town it fell 3 feet on a level.

*George-Town* is 45 Miles in a S.W. direction from Baltimore. Patapso River & Ferry is 8 Miles W. as the Post Road goes. Tide swells up to the Ferry. It is assisted by a Rope. *Elkridge Landing* is a paltry Village the W. Side of the Ferry. A Stone may be hove over the Ferry. The Land thro this Country is poor—poorly cultivated, sparcely settled, & most part small woods. a great deal of Iron ore is concealed in the ground; about 1/2 way between Baltimore & George-Town there is the Snowden's famous Iron Works owned by 2 Brothers who have handsome Houses on the adjoining Hills.<sup>23</sup> This place seems to relieve the Traveller in this uninviting Country. *Bladensburgh* is a pretty Village 8 Miles from George-Town, & at the Head of the Eastern Branch. Lowndes has a very elegant Seat on a Hill W. of the Town.<sup>24</sup> This Place is low, well watered by the Stream forming the head of the Eastern Branch. The Land looks good, & I am told one Merchant here last year shipped from different Places 12,000 HH. of Tobacco. There is a Spring of mineral Waters here close on the Bank of the River, of which I tasted. It is strangely impregnated with Iron Oar thro which it must flow. From this Village to George-Town the Road is very hilly. Altho the Land around Anapolis is thin, yet I am told that on this rout to George-Town, & between it & Anapolis, there is a Tract of as fine low land as any in the State.

As I have pretty fully described the result of my Visit to George-Town,

<sup>22</sup> The Court House was erected on the present site of the Battle Monument soon after 1768 when Baltimore became the county seat. By "the ingenuity of Mr. Leonard Harbaugh (afterwards a town commissioner), it was, in 1784, underpinned and arched and the street [Calvert] opened." A photograph of a painting recently acquired by the Society and showing the Court House and other buildings seen by Kent is reproduced in *Maryland Historical Notes* for February, 1951.

<sup>23</sup> Probably "Montpelier," built by Thomas Snowden, and "Oakland," built by Richard Snowden, his brother.

<sup>24</sup> Bostic or Bostwick Hall, near Bladensburg.

the City of Washington & Alexanderia in *Notes* <sup>25</sup> to Mr. Lear's Pamphlet on the Potowmac,<sup>26</sup> & to which I refer, I conclude this Memorandum with some

*Miscellanea*

I tarried at Baltimore 1 day, & at George-Town 9 Days. While there I dined with Col. Forrest,<sup>27</sup> Mr. Stodderd,<sup>28</sup> Young Mr. Mason<sup>29</sup> & Mr. Notely Young.<sup>30</sup> The Society at George-Town is very polite. at Mr. Young's which is on the River in the federal City, we see down as far as Mount Vernon. The 3 commissioners of the federal District are Thomas Johnson<sup>31</sup> (late Gov. & Judge) David Stuart<sup>32</sup> & Daniel Carroll.<sup>33</sup> They are accused by some as being very injudicious in their Plans, & incompetent to the Task. They alledge the building of the bad Bridge & expensive causeway over Rock-Creek, the cutting of canals before the City is begun &c. & the low ebb of its credit & Prospect when Mr. Greenleaf made his first purchase last Sep. as evidences of their Assertions. Their sales to Mr. Greenleaf & Morris<sup>34</sup> however have made a total Alteration in Affairs.

On Christmas Eve there was great firing at George Town all night. I observed the same to a degree in Phil. on New Years Eve.

\* \* \* \* \*

At Alexandria I saw a live male & female *Bison*. He was very gentle & was 3 feet 8 inches thro the Breast.

It was my Intention to have returned by the way of *Fredericktown*<sup>35</sup> York & Lancaster. This would have given me a View of the finest Inland Country in America. Frederick-Town had 5 Years ago upwards of 300 Houses principally of brick & Stone, & is in the midst of fine Land W. of Monocasy River, & within 2 Miles of it. It is several Miles E. of the blue Ridge called the *North-Mountain* the N. of the Potowmac.

\* \* \* \* \*

<sup>25</sup> Goff, *op. cit.*, 3-8.

<sup>26</sup> Tobias Lear, *Observations on the River Potomack* (New York, 1793).

<sup>27</sup> Uriah Forrest (1756-1805), of St. Mary's County, an officer in the Revolutionary Army and a member of the Continental and U. S. Congress.

<sup>28</sup> Benjamin Stoddert (1751-1813), of Charles County, an officer in the Revolutionary Army, a Georgetown merchant, and first Secretary of the Navy, speculated heavily in District of Columbia real estate with Forrest and others.

<sup>29</sup> Probably Stevens Thomson Mason (1760-1803), Senator from Virginia from 1794 until his death.

<sup>30</sup> Notley Young (d. 1802), a speculator in Washington real estate, and a director of the Bank of Columbia at the time of his death. An obituary is found in the *Federal Gazette* (Baltimore), March 26, 1802.

<sup>31</sup> (1732-1819). See E. S. Delaplaine, *Life of Thomas Johnson* (1927), pp. 470-473.

<sup>32</sup> Dr. David Stuart, of Fairfax County, the Virginia representative on the board of commissioners.

<sup>33</sup> (1730-1796), a Maryland signer of the Constitution of the United States.

<sup>34</sup> Robert Morris (1734-1806). A. C. Clark, *Greenleaf and Law in the Federal City* (1901) and W. B. Bryan, *History of the National Capitol* (1914-1916) detail the operations of Greenleaf and Morris.

<sup>35</sup> Frederick.



This Journey tho performed in the month of December was highly agreeable & comfortable. I travelled in the public Stages, & found the Stages & Stage-Houses in good accomodation. I shall ever remember with pleasure the intimate Introduction it has given me to the knowledge of some of the Southern States, & particularly of the *Potowmac* Country which has a City so admirable in the Plan, & noble in the object, beginning to discover the marks of Industry, genius & Freedom, & to rear itself on its Banks.

## II. Philadelphia to Washington, Rockville, Frederick, Taneytown, and Hanover, Pennsylvania: 1821.

[May 17] . . . entered on Board a Steam Boat for *Newcastle* in delaware, & passed along side of the tremendous Ship of the Line *North-Carolina*,<sup>36</sup> & passed by the elegant works or Fort on an Island on the W. Shore & nearly opposite Red Bank. We landed at *New Castle* 30 Miles down the Delaware by 5 Oclock when the Sun came out bright. It is a little insignificant Village. We got into a Post Coach (& several were here for Passengers) & rode S.W. 15 Miles to *French Town* on Elk River, & two Miles below Elktown. We admired the Thorn Hedge fences, & richly cultivated fields of grass, Rye & corn after leaving New Castle. We took the *Steam Boat* at French Town by Sundown & she immediately started for Baltimore. We supped & went to Bed, & arrived before day at the dock at *Baltimore*. It rained very hard in the Night, but we did not perceive it, & we lost all the wide Prospects on the Chesapeak Bay.

Friday May 18th a beautiful morning. Eliza [his daughter] & I were in a Hack very early & went up & visited the new Exchange,<sup>37</sup> & went up to the Cupola or Dome, & had a magnificent Bird's Eye View of *Baltimore* & the Harbor. We then went to view the cool & capicious & solubrious City Spring,<sup>38</sup> & Washington's Monument,<sup>39</sup> & breakfasted at the *Indian Queen* kept by Barnum.<sup>40</sup> Here we saw Ch. Mitchell Esq.<sup>41</sup> & at 9 Oclock we got into the Post Coach for Washington. The day was hot & we were rather crowded & fatigued. The road is very dull. At *Bladensburgh* we were shown the Ground of the Battle in August 1814 when General Ross<sup>42</sup> took the City of W., & we were shown the Graves

<sup>36</sup> The first Navy vessel named for a state. A model of this vessel is a familiar sight in the Library of the Maryland Historical Society.

<sup>37</sup> A large structure in which were housed the offices of brokers, insurance companies, and for a time the offices of the municipal government. Construction of the building, designed by B. H. Latrobe, was begun in 1815. See *Picture of Baltimore* (1832) for detailed account and illustration.

<sup>38</sup> Near Calvert and Saratoga streets. *Picture of Baltimore*, pp. 72-73.

<sup>39</sup> Begun in 1815, the Washington Monument at Charles and Monument streets was completed in 1829. *Picture of Baltimore*, pp. 182-183.

<sup>40</sup> At Baltimore and Hanover streets, the *Indian Queen* was managed by David Barnum. *Picture of Baltimore*, p. 233.

<sup>41</sup> Undoubtedly Charles Mitchell (d. 1831), "witty, learned, profligate and accomplished lawyer of the Baltimore Bar," quotation from J. P. Kennedy's diary, June 11, 1831, Peabody Institute Library.

<sup>42</sup> General Robert Ross, who died while leading British troops against Baltimore, September 12, 1814.



of the numerous British Soliders who fell by our musquetry & Grape. We saw also the Ground on our left where duelists meet, & where *Decatur* fell.<sup>43</sup> The fatague of the Traveller is forgotten at once on opening as we did at 4 or 5 P. M. on the bright & brilliant Scenery on & from *Capitol Hill*. We hastily passed by the Capitol, & along the Pennsylvania avenue to *George Town*, & lodged at *Crawford's Hotel* where we were handsomely accomodated with a Parlor & Bedrooms.<sup>44</sup>

My daughter stood her great & constant Exercise wonderfully well, & was recruiting daily in Health & Bloom & appetite & Sleep.

Saturday May 19 a fine day. We rode around the Hills & Environs of Georgetown in the morning & then went over to the City & called on S. *Thompson* <sup>45</sup> the Secy. of the Navy, with whom & at his House we dined, & we inspected with him the Capitol & Navy Yard, & the curiosities in the Office of the Secy of State, such as the original Parchment containing the declaration of Independence &c. I also visited with Mr. *Munro* <sup>46</sup> the President of US. & I admired the chaste & severe Simplicity of his Palace built of Grey Stone, & the Grandeur of the Capitol & magnificance of the S. Wing containing the Room of the House of Representatives. The Navy Yard & its cannon in massy Rows, & its brilliantly neat Armory, & its Steam Saw-Mill & naval monument &c all excited my Attention.<sup>47</sup> The attentions of *the Secy of the Navy* & of his family were warm & kind. We ret'd in the Evening to our Hotel at Georges-Town which stand directly opposite to a new brick meeting House which was building.

Sunday May 20th we started in Post Coach by 3 O'clock in the morning for *Fredericktown*. It was cool & a bright Moon. We had a Mr. Smith a druggist of Philadelphia who had recently married a Miss Pearsall of NYork, with her Brother & his Sister in the Stage. The distance is say 45 Miles, & toward N.W. & very uninteresting. We passed by *Montgomery Court House* in a little Paltry Village <sup>48</sup> & crossed the Monocasey River & got a view of the *W. ridge* or continuation of the Blue ridge before we reached Fredericktown. It was a fine day & the Country grew flat & richly cultivated as we approached the Town. We arrived at 1 O'clock, & stayed at *Talbot's Hotel*,<sup>49</sup> which was crowded with idle young men of the Town in their Sunday dress. It is a large Town & has two long

<sup>43</sup> Commodore Stephen Decatur (1779-1820), was born on the Eastern Shore and had a distinguished naval career. He was fatally wounded in a duel with Captain James Barron.

<sup>44</sup> The Union Tavern, kept by Joseph Crawford, located at 30th and M Streets in Georgetown.

<sup>45</sup> Smith Thompson (1768-1843), of New York, Secretary of the Navy from 1819 to 1823 and an associate justice of the Supreme Court from the latter year until his death.

<sup>46</sup> James Monroe (1758-1831), of Virginia.

<sup>47</sup> The Navy Yard was established in 1799. An interesting contemporary description is found in D. B. Warden, *Description of the District of Columbia* (1816), pp. 62-68.

<sup>48</sup> Rockville.

<sup>49</sup> Joseph Talbot's hotel. T. J. C. Williams, *History of Frederick County* (1910), I, 182-184, 210.

paved Streets of stone & brick Houses crossing each other at right angles. The compact Town has 3600 Souls, & 3 or 4 Churches. One is an Episcopal, one a Roman Catholic & one a Presbyterian Church.<sup>50</sup> The Town swarmed with well dressed Negroes on Sunday as being to them a gala Day. There are a few very neat & fashionable brick Houses & two of the Churches & the Court House & stone Goal are respectable Buildings.<sup>51</sup> This Town is surrounded by the richest of Meadows & flat lands covered with Grass & Grain; a Stream flows through the Town, & there is a beautiful view W. for a doz. Miles to the sloping sides of the Tame & graceful W. or *blue Ridge* covered with Woods.

Monday May 21st a beautiful day. Eliza & I started after Breakfast in a private Coachee for York in Pennsylvania which lies to the NE. a distance of 59 Miles. We rode that day to Hanover [Pennsylvania] a distance of 41 miles, through a flat & well cultivated agricultural country peopled principally with Germans. The West ridge of Mountains lay along on our left at the distance of from 8 to 16 Miles. It is of very moderate Elevation, & capable no doubt of Settlement & cultivation almost any where. We saw a white Building on its side which we were told was a Roman Catholic Monastery.<sup>52</sup> We dined at a little ugly Village called *Taney Town*. The Land Lady was a Catholic, & the little Brick Church of the German Lutherans.<sup>53</sup> We met with a very affable Landlord at the Village of Petersborough where a Turnpike crossed for Baltimore. *Hanover* where we lodged is a considerable Village with cross Streets as is usual in these German Towns, & the Court House is a small-very small Square or Space left at the Intersection of the Roads. We lodged at the Tavern of a very grave & honest looking German Landlord.

During the ride of this day Eliza & I were admiring the variety & Beauty of the Birds & Trees & fields of Grass & wheat & Rye &c, & we met frequently with heavy waggons with fine fat Horses to each as fat & large as so many hippopotami, & we admired the solidity of the Stone Bridges & Barns. If the Cellars were of Brick or wood, yet the Basement Story for the Cows &c. was uniformly of Stone.

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Saturday May 26th. [Five days later, from Brunswick, N. J.] We entered early in the morning on board of the Steam Boat *Bellona*. It rained torrents. We arrived at NY. by 11 O'clock & found our Friends well, & my daughter had wonderfully improved her Health by the Journey.

<sup>50</sup> All Saint's Episcopal, St. John's Catholic, and "English Presbyterian" churches. Williams, *op. cit.*, I, 427 ff.

<sup>51</sup> See article by Mr. Mathias, "Court Square, Frederick," pp. 110-120.

<sup>52</sup> The "Stone House" or "White House," first home of the Sisters of Charity of St. Joseph. A. M. Melville, *Elizabeth Bayley Seton* (1951), pp. 154-157, opp. 173.

<sup>53</sup> Is this the Trinity Evangelical Lutheran Church? See Scharf, *History of Western Maryland* (1882), II, 839-847, and "Historical Notes," *200th Anniversary Pageant and Souvenir Booklet* (1951).



## REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

*Travels of a Frenchman in Maryland and Virginia with a Description of Philadelphia and Baltimore in 1791.* By FERDINAND-M. BAYARD. Translated and Edited by BEN C. McCARY. Williamsburg: 1950. xxvii, 182 pp. \$2.50.

Professor McCary had the excellent idea of presenting to the American public a translation of a little known and too seldom quoted travel relation which could bear a subtitle, indicated by the author himself, "domestic manners of the Americans," "maeurs des Americains et leurs habitudes domestiques." The translator has succeeded in preserving some of the French flavor by following the text literally and reproducing the amusing misspellings of proper names in the original, and he has resisted the temptation of rewriting in his footnotes the whole history of the period. Altogether he has given us a very readable little book, and I cannot too strongly recommend to those who will be able to obtain a copy to put it in their bag for reading during the summer. It is much to be regretted that Professor McCary, apparently unable to interest a commercial publisher, had only 325 copies "Lithoprinted by Edwards Brothers, Ann Arbor, Michigan."

As a document, Bayard's relation stands by itself among the travel accounts of the same period and presents a more vivid and personal picture of the life of the people of Virginia and Maryland at the end of the 18th century than any other relation written by a foreign observer of the American scene. The very little known of the author is reviewed by Professor McCary, who also describes the first (1797) and second (1798) editions that were published.

It was to escape "the unwholesome air of the city during the summer months," as well as to get better acquainted with the American people that, early in the summer of 1791, Bayard decided to take his wife and little child to the summer resort of Bath (Berkeley Springs, W. Va.). The family—accompanied by a Baltimore woman, Mrs. C . . y, who, although "the daughter of a tailor," had social aspirations and boasted of a maid—hired a carriage and a driver and proceeded to Frederick, then to Bath. Leaving his family at Bath, Bayard went alone on horseback to Winchester and explored the Shenandoah Valley, apparently without definite plan, relying on the well known hospitality of the farmers and planters.

His book consists essentially of the account of his trip to Bath and Winchester, his stay at Bath, short descriptions of Hagerstown and Baltimore, an even shorter description of Philadelphia, a rather long account



of the Indians he had seen in Philadelphia during the winter of 1791, a visit to the Falls of the Passaic, which may lead one to suppose that he went to New York, although no mention is made of the city.

His judgments and conclusions are exceedingly questionable. Most of them were added when, back in France, he yielded to a public opinion hostile to America and particularly to Washington. His discussion of the order of Cincinnati, and his translation of the spurious letters attributed to Washington add nothing to the value of the book. Bayard was not a philosopher, but he was a keen reporter, with an eye for small picturesque details which he noted sometimes with admiration, more often with an ironical touch. Occasionally, he stopped to look at the landscape, but was too often reminded of Ossian and even Milton to commune with the American "solitude," as his fellow countryman Chateaubriand was doing, at exactly the same time. But as a moral and social observer he is unparalleled. Where else could one find such a vivid picture of life in a summer resort on the fringe of the frontier, including gambling, and duelling, the ludicrous performances given by Irish itinerant players, the attempts of sentimental ladies to find an escape in literature, flirting and mixing social dissipations with prayer meetings and Methodist revivals? The account of travelling conditions was a commonplace at the time, but Bayard is not a disgruntled traveler. Eminently a social being, he wanted to find out what kind of a society the isolated farmers and planters had been able to set up in the wilderness, from the humblest establishment to the almost feudal life of the slave owner. Greedy innkeepers, farmer's wives who manage in a log house to look and even to dress like ladies and offer the traveler some milk in a delicate china cup imported from England, mountaineers who distill and drink their own whiskey, gentlemen fond of hunting and keeping a pack of hounds—those are the people Bayard has seen, with whom he has associated and with whom he spent long evenings discussing this strange American way of life, so different from the life of the cities. Among several others one may note particularly the detailed and precise picture of the plantation of a former aide de camp of Washington who spent part of the night recollecting for his visitors the first years of the Revolutionary war.

To a Maryland reader, Bayard's relation will be particularly precious. His account of Baltimore is not entirely flattering, but it deserves a place in the golden book of the city. Bayard's visit to the flour mill of the "Hellicot" family of Maryland and Virginia, his admiration for the inventive genius of the old Quakers, the labor saving machinery which enabled them to run the mill with a few workers, the farm of Mr. Caleb Dorsey at Elkridge constitute invaluable documents. Finally the delightful view, without the slightest Ossianic reminiscence, "from the top of the small hill on which is situated the house of Colonel Howard" should endear him to all the historians of Baltimore.

GILBERT CHINARD

*Princeton University*

*Elizabeth Bayley Seton, 1774-1821.* By ANNABELLE M. MELVILLE. New York: Scribner's, 1951. xvii, 411 pp. \$4.

Among the persons who have lent lustre to the Maryland scene none deserve to be better remembered than Elizabeth Bayley Seton, the saintly Foundress of the Sisters of Charity. Coming to Baltimore from New York in June, 1808, with her three daughters she spent a year in a house on Paca Street before departing for Emmitsburg where she was destined to establish a Society of nuns who would devote themselves to the good work of Christian charity and education among the people. It was a far cry from the elite society of New York and the company of friends and relatives she was compelled to abandon when she gave up her Episcopal religion to join the Catholic Church. Married to William Magee Seton in January, 1794, she had served him nobly as devoted wife and adoring mother to their five children until sickness brought about his ill fortune and death abroad in 1804. Thus it was in Italy she found solace and comfort in the friendship of the Filicchi family, merchants of Leghorn, whose kindly example first brought the Catholic Church to her attention.

Mrs. Melville writes this biography within the shadow of Mother Seton's first earthly triumph, St. Joseph's College at Emmitsburg. In every way it is a definitive study. Neither lavishing undue praise where not deserved nor, on the other hand, minimizing the immense hardships involved in setting up her Society in the wilderness of the Maryland frontier, at all times the story rings true. Indeed it is an excellent example of what might be called a new departure in hagiography—American style. For one day, God willing, Mother Seton is sure to be canonized and when that day will have come, the United States will have obtained its first truly American Saint. That this author has taken the pains to report so fully and so charmingly the saga of this gracious American woman is cause for Maryland and Baltimore to be especially grateful. This reviewer regrets, however, that the book contains no genealogical table. Its inclusion would have aided the reader to appreciate Mother Seton's connection with the Bayley, Carleton, Roosevelt, and Seton families whose scions have played so large a role in shaping American history. In a very special way Baltimore itself is a witness to the noble influence of this woman. Its eighth Archbishop, James Roosevelt Bayley (1872-1877) was her nephew. President Franklin Roosevelt himself once acknowledged to this reviewer the high esteem in which the memory of Mother Seton was held by his family.

HARRY W. KIRWIN

*Loyola College*

*Oakland, Garrett County, Maryland, Centennial History, 1849-1949.* By THEKLA FUNDENBERG WEEKS. Oakland: 1949. 103 pp.

This is another of the community historical souvenirs, a species which indicates a healthy amateur interest in history and develops perspective at the grass roots. Mrs. Weeks recounts the history of Maryland's westernmost county seat, telling her story carefully and without nonsense. Primarily she addresses the people of Oakland, using a wealth of local reference. Several maps and nearly a hundred illustrations add interest. The author and the Oakland Centennial Commission both deserve commendation.

HENRY J. YOUNG

*Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission,  
Harrisburg*

*The First Presbyterian Church, Cumberland, Maryland, 1810-1950.* Compiled by RUTH A. CLAUSON and Mrs. P. G. ERWIN. [Cumberland, 1950. 38 pp.]

A surprising store of information has been gathered in the small space of this modest pamphlet. The history of the congregation and the Moffatt Memorial Mission at Barrelville has been agreeably sketched. A directory of officers and members in 1950 is included.

*200th Anniversary Pageant and Souvenir Booklet.* Taneytown, 1951. 24 pp.

This small pamphlet describes "The Seven Books of Trinity," a pageant that was a feature of the bicentennial celebration of the Trinity Evangelical Lutheran Church in Taneytown last year. There are 35 illustrations of scenes of the pageant, of the church and the parsonage as they looked in former days and as they now appear, and of past and present ministers of the church. The "Historical Notes" suggest the rich history of the congregation.

*Fort McHenry National Monument and Historic Shrine, Maryland.* By HAROLD I. LESSEM and GEORGE C. MACKENZIE. Washington: National Park Service, 1950. 38 pp. \$0.20

The history of Fort McHenry, from its modest beginning during the Revolutionary War, through its expansion prior to the War of 1812 and its important role during the Battle of Baltimore, and on through later wars, including World War II, is here recounted in some detail. Emphasis is placed, appropriately, on the War of 1812 and the writing of the Star



Spangled Banner. A brief description of the present-day fort and its museums is included.

The authors, who have been connected with the fort, write with apparent interest in their subject, and, although the language occasionally tends to be somewhat technical, especially in the descriptions of the British bombs and rockets and the fort today, the pamphlet is of the popular type.

Many illustrations add to its interest—reproductions of portraits of persons connected with the fort, especially during the War of 1812, old prints, photographs of the present fort (there might have been more of these), maps, diagrams, and the original manuscript draft and the first printing of the Star Spangled Banner.

The National Park Service has published several other pamphlets on the fort, but they have done well to make this fuller account available at such a nominal sum.

ELIZABETH C. LITSINGER

*Enoch Pratt Free Library*

*Story of the Easton Star-Democrat.* By JAMES C. MULLIKIN. Published by the newspaper. 88 pp.

This is a delightful history of the Eastern Shore's oldest weekly newspaper. It tells how Thomas Perrin Smith came to Easton from Virginia in 1799 without an idea in the world of starting a paper—until he discovered that the hated Federalists were publishing a weekly in the village. Completely without experience, he established *The Republican Star or Eastern Shore Luminary*. The opposition was soon out of business.

The subsequent history of the paper is a capsule history of American politics as well. Republican, Democratic, Whig, Democratic: over the 150 years that have seen its plant twice burned out and often near bankruptcy, it has been all these. Its editors have been printers, politicians, merchants; one was an actor. Thomas K. Robson, editor and owner from 1849 to 1888, was a newspaperman of the Horace Greeley school, and so violently "Secesh" that during the Civil War Federal troops, vexed by his constant attacks, picked him up bodily and deposited him within the Confederate lines.

The story of the paper—since 1896 the *Easton Star-Democrat*, since 1949 at home in one of the State's most modern printing plants—is thorough and well written with a light touch. It deserves a place on every shelf devoted to the history of Maryland journalism.

WILLIAM STUMP

*History of the Grand Lodge of Ancient, Free, and Accepted Masons of Maryland, 1888-1950.* By CARL N. EVERSTINE. Baltimore, 1951. 2 vol., 1,010 pp.

In the 1880s Edward T. Schultz published in four volumes the *History of Freemasonry in Maryland*, long the standard reference work on the subject. Mr. Everstine in his volumes summarizes the history of the first hundred years, then brings the story down through the first half of the 20th century. Careful, judicious, and always in understatement, the author has written an entirely satisfactory history of the Masons and their activities for the past 60 years. The appendices showing local lodges and Grand Masters since 1787 are valuable additions. Of value as a work of reference as well as a history, Mr. Everstine's volumes will stand as a Masonic landmark for a long time to come.

*A Tour Through Part of Virginia in the Summer of 1808.* By JOHN E. CALDWELL, Edited by WILLIAM M. E. RACHAL. Richmond: Dietz Press, 1951. xxi, 61 pp. \$2.

This is an interesting account of a New Yorker's trip from Baltimore to Old Sweet Springs via Frederick, Maryland, and the Shenandoah Valley; his visit to the other famed springs of the Virginias; and a call on President Jefferson at Monticello. The author, John Edwards Caldwell, had a cosmopolitan background, having spent a decade in France where he received a liberal education and lived in the home of the Marquis de Lafayette. Several years before his visit to Virginia he was the United States consular agent for Santo Domingo and ports of the West Indies, and subsequently he was characterized as "the most intelligent" Presbyterian layman.

Caldwell made brief comments on the inhabitants, tourists' accommodations and the chief points of interest of Ellicott's Mills, Harper's Ferry, Martinsburg, Winchester, Harrisonburg, Staunton, Lexington, Fincastle, Alexandria, Washington, and other places along his route. He was so awed by the Natural Bridge that he copied the description of this "sublime object" from Jefferson's *Notes on Virginia* instead of trusting to his own descriptive powers. Caldwell's *Some Account of the Islands of the Azores* is a welcome addition to the book reviewed.

Everyone interested in Virginiana is indebted to Mr. William M. E. Rachal for his enlightening editor's notes, and to the Dietz Press for making available at a reasonable price a hitherto extremely scarce volume.

CARROL H. QUENZEL

*Mary Washington College of the  
University of Virginia*

*Old New Castle and Modern Delaware.* Washington, D. C.: 1951.- iv  
59 pp. \$1.

On June 1, 1951, in Coolidge Auditorium, Library of Congress, The Honorable J. Allen Frear, United States Senator from Delaware, presided at a meeting marking the formal opening of a special exhibit in the Library of Congress to commemorate the Tercentenary of the founding of New Castle, Delaware, by the Dutch. The principal address of the evening was that of Dr. John Munroe of the University of Delaware who ably traced the varied history of this old town. The remarkable exhibit of maps, documents, manuscripts, books and photographs showing many facets in the origin and development of New Castle were attractively arranged in a series of cases by Nelson R. Burr, Philip F. Bell, and Herbert J. Sanborn of the Library of Congress staff. In eight cases they portrayed the early life of New Castle through the colonial period, the Revolution and to the adoption of the Federal Constitution. With the use of panels containing illustrative material, they arranged their exhibit showing the homes of New Castle statesmen, the planned restoration of New Castle and modern Delaware depicting industry, agriculture, transportation, education, and recreation.

Never before has such a comprehensive collection of material pertaining to New Castle been brought together; and, although this well-written and attractively-printed and illustrated booklet is not a complete bibliography, it will surely stand for a long time as the best guide to illustrative material of the history of this old town.

LEON DEVALINGER, JR.

*Delaware State Archives*

*The Navigation Acts and the American Revolution.* By OLIVER M. DICKERSON. Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 1951. xv,  
344 pp. \$6.

According to Dickerson the American Revolution was caused by a basic failure in British policy—or, rather, change of policy—after 1763. His evidence is statistical, journalistic, and philosophical; its bulk and scope tremendous.

The lions of American historiography are attacked obliquely by a mass of statistical data supported by contemporary views, until, by a process of *reductio ad absurdum*, Van Tyne, Andrews, Schlesinger, and others are left holding the untenable assumption of George Bancroft that "American independence, like the great rivers of the country, had many sources, but the headspring which colored all the stream was the Navigation Act" (p. 31). A combination of negative statement and evidence consumes half of the book. The reader is supposed to be well convinced that the acts of trade during the century of "salutary neglect" had little to do with the Revolution. Their extension, after the French and Indian War, to include fiscal control, is at this point emphasized as the real reason for war. David



Ramsay and Mercy Warren, among the earliest historians of the struggle, are cited as more representative observers than the later historians.

The second section, introduced by a trenchant statement from the Old Testament, swings the scholarly batteries around on George III: "Now there arose up a new king over Egypt, which knew not Joseph" (p. 161). The author's undoubted scholarship and mature thinking make it possible for him to expand his "text," without appearing ludicrous, to include an analogy with World War II on the same page. Such scope and understanding of organizational problems form the strength of Professor Dickerson's presentation.

From blaming the king to indictment of the ministry is a short step. One is reminded of Hugh Egerton's *Causes and Character of the American Revolution*. George Grenville remains as the *bête noir* of imperial reorganization, and Lord North is still the creature of a bungling monarch. Ministerial ineptitude is broadened to include the venal character of minor placemen. "Customs Racketeering" and dishonesty among the servants of empire are major factors in divorcing the colonies from their mother.

The conclusion seems to be that some Americans knew that trade regulation was good for them, and that many Englishmen felt that the tradition of enumeration was sufficient to justify taxation as part of trade regulation in a broad sense. Mutual suspicion grew up from causes other than the acts of trade—precisely what is not shown.

Many questions remain unanswered. Why, for example, did only thirteen of the British colonies rally to the cry, "no taxation without representation?" Why did Daniel Dulany so hate the Stamp Act in 1765, and yet become a Loyalist in 1776? Perhaps the author has confused loyalty to the empire during the French and Indian War with loyalty to American institutions. Perhaps middle class growth during the 18th century had something to do with the Revolution.

JAMES HIGH

*University of Washington*

*Crisis in Freedom: The Alien and Sedition Acts.* By JOHN C. MILLER.  
Boston: Little, Brown, 1951. 253 pp. \$3.50.

In the summer of 1798 the Federalist congressional majority, designing to perpetuate its control of the government and to impress upon the nation its own social and economic image, enacted the Alien and Sedition Laws. The hysteria generated by the undeclared naval war with France and the fear that the equalitarian principles of the French Revolution might spread to America had induced a climate of opinion receptive to their passage. Yet only one of the acts was a temporary war measure. The others were directed at the elimination of those aliens, Irish more than French, who tended to join the anti-Federalists and to disseminate socio-economic doctrines inimical to the interests of privilege. Thus the Alien Act empowered the President to deport virtually any alien in the country, while

the Sedition Act made much ordinary criticism of the government a crime. As enforced, few aliens were actually compelled to leave; but several Jeffersonian editors were suppressed, two important political figures convicted, and a handful of insignificant citizens punished, one for expressing the hope that a whiff of grapeshot might strike President John Adams in the seat of his pants. To obtain these convictions, Federalist judges corrupted the law, packed juries, and generally compromised judicial procedures.

Professor Miller has related the story of these troublous times in skillful narrative style. His scholarship, however, is not equal to his literary craftsmanship. For instance, there is no analysis of the vote in Congress on party lines; the *Annals of Congress* are merely culled; and several indictments are missed. Also, the exoneration of Alexander Hamilton of sympathy with the Federalist program rests on a careless interpretation of his position, for Hamilton's real view was that "the masses [of immigrants] ought to be removed from the country." Whatever its current value—it was recently cited in a Supreme Court decision—*Crisis in Freedom* is an inadequate historical study of a continuing constitutional problem.

WILLIAM H. HARBAUGH

*Northwestern University*

*The Era of Good Feelings.* By GEORGE DANGERFIELD. New York: Harcourt, Brace, [1952]. xiv, 525 pp. \$6.

This book is neither a general history of the United States from the War of 1812 to the election of Jackson nor a limited study of American-British relations in this period, but it is something of both. By the author's definition, it "is essentially a description of some of the personalities and experiences, American and European, which assisted in or were necessary to the political transition from Jeffersonian democracy to Jacksonian democracy." "European" here usually means British, and the work is at its best in portraying the effect of the rising power of British industrialism on the relations between Britain and the United States. Sometimes, however, the author, whose previous writings have been on British history, seems to be lured from his theme by his knowledge of English men and measures.

The first fifth of the book is devoted to the peacemaking activities which culminated in the Treaty of Ghent. This tale is told against a background of British continental diplomacy, the major events of the American war being presented incidentally. After the peace the reader is conducted from the early Monroe administration, where the Florida problem is emphasized, through the Missouri debates and the commercial negotiations with Britain, especially those regarding the West Indies and Latin-America, to the political turmoil of the Adams administration.

A wide use is made of published sources, British and American, but

manuscripts were apparently consulted only in New York state, except for two collections in the Library of Congress. A wise consultation and application of secondary materials is evident. The writing is good; the phrasing is often very clever—as when Thomas Cooper is described as “something between a calendar and a chameleon, a curious register of temporary fads and local prejudices” (p. 403), and Van Buren as a “plump and smiling Cassius,” seeking Adams’ destruction (p. 360). The inappropriateness of the title as applied to the period discussed is recognized by the author.

The work is generally sound, and the conclusions shrewd, though Dangerfield’s view of the admission of Missouri as a surrender to slavery seems to be adopted without recognition of the fact that Missouri, once admitted, could make her own decisions regarding slavery. His opinion that in the War of 1812 “British military preponderance was bound sooner or later to bear down all opposition” might find dissent.

Clever, informed, and attractive, this book is, but it is probably too detailed and too closely reasoned for the general reader, while it does not claim to be a definitive treatise for the scholar. The reviewer hopes it will be widely read, nonetheless, because it is good history and interesting history.

JOHN A. MUNROE

*University of Delaware*

*Letters from America: 1773-1780.* Edited by ERIC ROBSON. New York: Barnes and Noble, 1951. xxvi, 90 pp. \$3.

Sir James Murray, the author of these twenty-four most interesting letters was not yet twenty-five years old when the American Revolution began. His letters, therefore, show much of the impatience, eagerness for action, love of home, and that highly critical attitude so often found in one so young. Yet his comments regarding the war and the British conduct of it, as well as his opinions of America and its armies, show a frankness and an objectivity which are both revealing and refreshing.

In these letters one sees the early confidence of the young officer in a quick British victory gradually become clouded by doubt and his severe criticism of bungling and mismanagement on the part of officers of higher rank than himself, and even of the Ministry itself. His contempt for the American soldiers, whom he refers to as “vermin,” is only exceeded by his distaste for America itself. He repeatedly expresses his longing to return to his native Scotland.

Only eleven of the twenty-four letters were written from within what is now the United States. Even so, the student of the Revolution will find all twenty-four of these letters to be both interesting and valuable. Little that is new will be found in these messages regarding the war itself but they make a most significant addition to the literature of the period.



Indeed, their chief value may lie in the fact that they give us a fresh opportunity to see the Revolution through the eyes of a British officer. Having been written to relatives the style is clear, intimately frank, highly personal, and delightfully free from the burdensome military language and technical details which officers of that day so often employed.

Carefully edited, the volume contains a most helpful introduction, a rich bibliography, an abundance of excellent footnotes, and an index substantially increasing the importance of the work.

EDWARD M. COLEMAN

*Morgan State College*

*Thomas Jefferson: Scientist.* By EDWIN T. MARTIN. New York: Henry Schuman, 1952. x, 289, pp. \$4.

The range of Jefferson's scientific interests knew few limits. His Enlightenment preconceptions led him into errors; they also opened new fields of inquiry, widened horizons for reason to explore, suggested ways for men to improve their earthly lot.

Mr. Martin's able work surveys Jefferson in his scientific adventures on two continents. Wisely, the author portrays the social and political *milieu* in which the sage of Monticello carried on his inventions and experiments. Jefferson the statesman found political enemies capitalizing on his heretical deism, his impious curiosity, his Gallican associates. But he persisted and as Mr. Martin states, "his greatness consisted in his insistence upon freedom of the scientific mind" (p. 244). Certainly, Jefferson's scientific achievements, with one exception (a plow moldboard), were gadgets rather than significant contributions. But when he encouraged greater scientists, exchanged information here and abroad, stimulated learning in almost every discipline—Jefferson the scientist paid dividends to his and future generations.

The author handled a difficult organization problem well. In his effort to achieve topical delineation, however, Mr. Martin repeats some items unnecessarily. We read in several places of the hair growth of Indians, of an attempt to extract fresh water from the sea, and of Jefferson's willingness to break the Embargo in the interests of science. This is a minor defect; more important is the concise picture here offered of Jefferson's scientific life. This book deserves a prominent place in the growing list of Jefferson studies.

HAROLD M. HYMAN

*Columbia University*

*In the Spirit of Jefferson.* Essays and Reviews by ERNEST L. TALBERT.  
New York: Exposition Press, 1951. 64 pp. \$2.

Let those be warned who expect from the title that they will learn something about Jefferson from this florilegium of rewritten book-reviews, which appeared originally in the *Cincinnati Enquirer*, the *Railway Clerk*, and *The Humanist*, I would guess largely in the first two. This thin volume records the author's approval of the political thought of Thomas Jefferson, William James, John Dewey, and George H. Mead and his sanction of the religion of Hosea, Buddha, Plato, Jesus, and St. Paul. About Kate Smith he has a few misgivings. Consult, if you please, the chapter "Kate Smith and Jeffersonian Democracy." Like all his admired prophets, the author speaks out fearlessly in favor of love in his opening chapter on the dichotomy of love and hate. In regard to more specific matters he is less forthright. He presents large capitalists, for example, in their Jekyll-Hyde role of philanthropists and robber barons, but does not decide which interpretation accords with Jeffersonian philosophy.

The author may have an understanding of "the spirit of Jefferson," but he carefully conceals it in this volume. In a panegyric of John Dewey, for example, the only concrete explanation given of the philosopher's eminence is his investigation in Mexico of the case of Leon Trotsky, which is said to have been for Dewey "an opportunity to demonstrate what Jefferson democracy and the liberal philosophy mean." If the reader feels that the relationship between the case of Trotsky and Jeffersonian democracy is somewhat less than implicit, nothing in this volume will help him see the connection.

It may seem captious to expect philosophical depth and critical acuteness in a heterogeneous collection of reviews such as this, but it is the author's fault for dignifying trivia with a grandiose title.

A. O. ALDRIDGE

*University of Maryland*

*Randolph of Roanoke: A Study in Conservative Thought.* By RUSSELL KIRK. Univ. of Chicago Press, 1951. vii, 187 pp. \$3.

There has developed a new and far from happy tendency of historians to exaggerate the political comments of American statesmen into political theory and philosophy. Adrienne Koch unwittingly led the way with her *Philosophy of Thomas Jefferson*, and was followed by George Lipsky's *John Quincy Adams: His Theory and Ideas*, and now by Russell Kirk's *Randolph of Roanoke*. All these studies read rather like doctoral dissertations, and only Miss Koch supplied anything new in her study of Jefferson's philosophical reading.

Russell Kirk makes claim to neither a fresh approach nor a new understanding regarding that bewildering political personality, John Randolph,

but is content to supply "an account of the mind of a radical man who became the most eloquent of American conservatives." This account takes the form of a series of awkwardly divided sections dealing with Randolph's ideas on such subjects as "The Division of Power" and "The Cancer." This latter chapter on slavery makes illuminating reading, but its weakness is that of the book itself: Randolph's ideas lose too much of their significance when out of their political context, and Mr. Kirk's rather artificial compartmentalization makes for unhappy and confusing repetition. Not until the final summation does the author reveal his considerable writing ability in what is an excellent synthesis of the eccentric Randolph.

A sectionalist who feared sectionalism, a pessimistic Jeffersonian who hated Jefferson, a secessionist who opposed nullification, Randolph poses difficult questions for the student of his political ideas. Despite thorough research and impressive scholarship, Mr. Kirk does not present a cohesive account of Randolph's thought, and the present reviewer suspects there are two good reasons: First, Randolph is hardly worthy of a volume devoted so exclusively to his political ideas, and bears poor comparison with an Edmund Burke; and, second, it is doubtful whether the most enamoured student of Randolph can render that medical phenomenon completely intelligible.

H. TREVOR COLBOURN

*The Johns Hopkins University*

*Chivers' Life of Poe.* Edited by RICHARD BEALE DAVIS. New York: Dutton, 1952. 127 pp. \$5.

During the 1850s two out-of-the-ordinary men, one on either side of the Atlantic, were writing revealingly about Edgar Poe. One was the French poet, Charles Baudelaire, whose critical papers on the American author were edited and translated a few months ago by Lois and Francis Hyslop. The other was the Georgia poet, Thomas Holley Chivers (1807-1858), whose manuscript biography of Poe, together with related pieces, all covering the years about 1851-1857, have now been impeccably assembled by Professor Davis of the University of Tennessee.

Though Chivers' connection with Poe is primarily associated with his charges of plagiarism, the publication of this new "life"—fragmentary and factually inaccurate though it be—demonstrates that the Georgia physician's real importance lies in his close acquaintance with and his comments on his famous friend. The two had corresponded as early as 1840, but had not met until the summer of 1845, only four years before Poe's death. Hence Chivers' is no more than a partial view of an enigmatic subject. But it is a gratifyingly objective view because the Doctor, despite his charges of plagiarism (which barely enter here), believed that the author of *The Raven* "possessed a higher genius than Plato,—a loftier talent than Pythagoras." Such fairness adds weight to the value of the "life" as commentary, and editor Davis may well be correct in maintaining that Chivers "came as close as any of [Poe's] contemporaries to understanding him."



Running to 78 pages of text, the Life's most useful portions—certainly its most vivid—are those headed "Conversations" and "Personal Appearance." It is absorbing to watch a contemporary observer in the unwitting act of creating a Poe Legend: "I would say that he was the Incarnation of the Greek Prometheus"; "If any *man* ever held seven devils in him—(or even fourteen—) that man was Edgar A. Poe." But Chivers has left behind him a reputation for guilelessness; and his descriptions, for example, of Poe's controversial encounter on Broadway with Lewis Gaylord Clark, have the clear ring of truth. As to our biographer's writing style, well, Poe himself called Chivers "at the same time one of the best and one of the worst poets in America"; and his prose resoundingly proves that the physician was suffering from an advanced case of elephantiasis of the rhetoric.

But what we have here is first-hand commentary about a major American author. For the first time this commentary has been fully and scrupulously presented in print, and its publishers have given it a handsome garb with which to face the world. For any Poe enthusiast, therefore, as well as for all students of Southern literature, the volume is well worth the price.

CURTIS CARROLL DAVIS

*Lieutenant Emory Reports.* Introduction and Notes by ROSS CALVIN.  
Albuquerque: Univ. of New Mexico Press, 1951. 208 pp. \$4.50.

In the summer of 1846 Lt. William Hemsley Emory of the Topographical Engineers was ordered to survey the Southwest to determine whether it was worth conquering and annexing to the United States. Completing his survey, he published *Notes of a Military Reconnaissance* (*sic*) which became the handbook for more than one California-bound emigrant and a gold mine of first-hand information for the scholar. The present edition with introduction and notes by Ross Calvin marks the first time this famous Western classic has appeared in one hundred years.

Emory, a native of Poplar Grove, Queen Anne's County, contributed a valuable account of the Southwest. He proved beyond a shadow of a doubt that the region was desirable. Even today, his report is of significance because many of the landmarks which he described can be seen from the highway. More important, however, his work was concrete evidence that the Army did play a major role in the extension of the frontier and the opening up of new territory.

Calvin changed Emory's work only slightly. He added explanatory footnotes where he thought them necessary while he omitted obsolete scientific data. Both the editor and the publishers are to be complimented on making the *Notes* once more available. The volume lacks an index, but this detracts but little from the appearance of a volume which should serve as a stimulus for the publication of more out-of-print source materials.

FRANK F. WHITE, JR.

*Library of Congress*

*Memoirs of a Monticello Slave, As Dictated to Charles Campbell in the 1840's by Isaac, one of Thomas Jefferson's Slaves.* Edited by RAYFORD W. LOGAN. Charlottesville: Tracy W. McGregor Library, 1951. 45 pp. \$3.

"Travelling in the phaeton Mr Jefferson used oftentimes to take the reins himself & drive. Whenever he wanted to travel fast *he'd* drive. . . ." "Mr Jefferson bowed to everybody he meet: talked wid his arms folded. . . ." ". . . old master wouldn't shoot partridges settin: said 'he wouldn't take advantage of em'. . . ." "Mr Jefferson always singing when ridin or walkin: hardly ever see him anywhar out doors but what he was a-singin. . . ." ". . . nary man in this town walked so straight. . . ."

Most of the people who remembered Thomas Jefferson left us less illuminating comments than these of his colored servant Isaac, which appear in print now for the first time, admirably edited, indexed, and introduced.

Taking notes for my own use, I copied nearly the whole thing. For Isaac Jefferson remembered not just the great man he served and his visitors at Monticello. He remembered Yorktown, and before that the day the British under Arnold took Richmond—"seemed like the day of judgment was come." His account of Jefferson's controversial flight and his own capture by the soldiers, vivid and well told and convincingly remembered, makes an excellent footnote to the war. But then the whole too-short book is interesting; you will enjoy every word.

ELLEN HART SMITH

*The Health of Slaves on Southern Plantations.* By WILLIAM D. POSTELL. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State Univ. Press, 1951. xiv, 231 pp. \$3.

In this study, Mr. Postell has set forth to investigate the methods adopted by southern planters to conserve the health of their slaves. Although restricted to the period from about 1800 to the Civil War, this little volume presents not only valuable discussions of southern medicinal, surgical, and sanitary practices, but also of the foods, clothing, and housing apportioned to slaves. These sections are amply supported by detailed documentation and thirteen illustrations and statistical tables.

Unfortunately, the author did not elect to confine himself to a study of the measures used to protect the health of the slaves. On several occasions Mr. Postell felt the necessity of defending the plantation system of the ante-bellum South by comparing its virtues with those of the northern factory system. These apologies reveal little of the scholarly attitude and detract from the distinct contributions to historical knowledge contained in the rest of the book. Aside from its obvious merits and demerits, this monograph serves to remind us that it is high time historians and teachers of history gave rightful attention to the importance of the state of public health in the historical development of the United States.

DONALD R. MCCOY

*The National Archives*

*Elias E. Ries, Inventor.* By ESTELLE H. RIES. New York: Philosophical Library, 1951. xii, 369 pp. \$4.75.

To write the story of an unappreciated genius, particularly if that genius is one's own father, can be no easy task. Miss Ries has managed, without sinking into maudlin pathos, to give a readable account of such a man. Born in Germany, reared in Baltimore, struggling in New York to make a living for his family, Elias Ries, with a mind constantly at work on new ideas, was a man ahead of his time—one who would, perhaps, have been ahead of his time in any age. Although the average reader is not qualified to evaluate the work of this man, one can well believe that his contributions to knowledge were of lasting importance. The style of the book is given a somewhat disturbing unevenness by a mixture of objective and personal narrative and by the interspersion of quotations and bits of news to set the scene and show the passing times. More than a monument to one man, *Elias E. Ries, Inventor* is a plea for like men, for more understanding, better patent law practices, material aid. If even one inventor is benefited by the arguments presented in this book, it will have served its purpose.

CATHERINE M. SHELLEY

*The Mudd Family of the United States.* By RICHARD D. MUDD. Ann Arbor: Edward Brothers, 1951. xiv, 1461 pp. \$15.

This genealogy deals primarily with the descendants in the male line of Thomas Mudd, gentleman, who settled in Charles County by 1677. Judging from extant census schedules, the heads of families by 1790 had increased to 24, all Maryland residents. The genealogy, one of the largest of its type ever published, owes its size to the fact that it contains much minute information from original and family sources about each generation. It includes a detailed biographical account of the grandfather of the compiler, Dr. Samuel A. Mudd, who was imprisoned but later pardoned for his alleged complicity in the assassination of Abraham Lincoln. It is a carefully documented work of many years research and a genealogical contribution of lasting value.

The reviewer believes that the system of identifying male descendants that results in such a symbol as ABACA ABAA and the consequent arrangement of data so that each son of the colonist, and the son's descendants are treated as a group, has serious obstacles to the user. He prefers the system so generally used in our standard periodicals where the male descendants are assigned numbers in chronological sequence and the descendants of each generation are treated as a group.

MEREDITH B. COLKET, JR.

*The National Archives*



*The Chandlee Family from 1591.* Compiled by THOMAS CHANDLEE and WALTER BLACKSON. Wilmington: Walter Blackson, Delaware Trust Bldg., 1951. 734 pp.

This work is no "fly-by-night" affair; it represents a great amount of research, first by Thomas Chandlee of Ballitore, Ireland, up to 1898, and later by Walter Blackson who has put in about 50 years of effort. A large number of assistants, connected with the family, assisted Mr. Blackson. The Chandlee connections are widespread—Abrams, Astles, Canns, Caskeys, Darlingsons, Ergoods, Gallahers, Leadbetters, and Naylor, to speak of no others. Indexed by what the reviewer may call "the Blackson system" (whereby descendant numbers, instead of page numbers, guide the reader), this volume is very easy to use as a reference. But parts are very easy reading, notably the essay-type additions to family listings, such as "Nottingham Lots" (valuable to all searchers of Cecil County records).

More illustrations might have helped the work, though there is a map and one notices, unusual in a genealogical work, no family chart or tree. Less excusable is the nature of the references: "from William Chandlee's shorthand notes," "Mrs. Charles F. Fox says . . .," "Supplied by. . . ." Maryland records were never consulted apparently, either at the Maryland Historical Society or at the Hall of Records. Pennsylvania official records are never cited. In praise it may be said that frequent reference is made to newspapers, E. E. Chandlee's *Six Quaker Clockmakers*, Bible entries, and religious records of one sort or another.

ROGER THOMAS

*Hall of Records, Annapolis*

*The Pennocks of Primitive Hall.* By GEORGE VALENTINE MASSEY II. West Chester: Chester County Historical Society, 1951. viii, 139 pp. \$10.

*The Pennocks of Primitive Hall*, by George Valentine Massey II, is a delight for those who seek genealogical truth and documentation. The compiler has traced Christopher Pennock and his descendants through the colonial period and, in some branches, into post-revolutionary days. Pennock, one-time shop keeper of Cork, Ireland, who came to Philadelphia about 1651, sprang from the British yeomanry, a class which furnished the backbone of Quakerism, and in Pennsylvania followed out the occupation of "cardmaker." Of his three sons, only one Joseph left any progeny in America to carry on the name. After his father's death, having lived in Ireland with his mother, he came to Pennsylvania to claim his inheritance and left a line of craftsmen such as hatters, joiners, brewers, house carpenters, and tradesmen, such arts and crafts which formed the nucleus of later Pennsylvania wealth and industry.

The work of the compiler was facilitated by the meticulous records of the Quakers and by extant family documents as well as a genealogical chart

compiled by a descendant in 1844-1846, showing generations beyond the Revolution from personal knowledge and contact with the oldest living descendants.

The Pennocks after reaching Pennsylvania were apparently not a migrating race, at least no lines of migrations are shown, and no attempt was made by the compiler to connect those bearing the name in other parts of the State with the clan around Philadelphia. Some wills are printed in their entirety and many quotations from deeds and other instruments are given. The book is copiously documented, indexed, and presented in a clear, direct, and easy style.

HARRY WRIGHT NEWMAN

*Early American Gunsmiths, 1650-1850.* By HENRY J. KAUFFMAN. Harrisburg: Stackpole, 1952. xx, 94 pp. \$5.

Fascinating and invaluable for the gun collector and historian is the information brought together by Henry Kauffman in his *Early American Gunsmiths*. Here for the first time is a reliable assembly of facts, dates, and locations of American gunsmiths, with every source clearly noted and no spurious names or hearsay included.

The author has traced each gunsmith's name in wills, advertisements, and record books to a specific location at a specific date. The references often tell, in addition, if the smith was a freeman, indentured servant, or slave, what other business he carried on, or to whom he was apprenticed.

Tracing a man to a single document, however, can be misleading, for a single date may be at the beginning or end of a forty year career and hence not completely reliable as a guide. The book covers rural Pennsylvania with care and includes documentation of gunsmiths from Maine to Carolina and the West, but there are vast areas still to be explored and further investigations needed of the existing names.

RICHARD H. RANDALL, JR.

*Alcoa, An American Enterprise.* By CHARLES C. CARR. New York: Rinehart, 1952. ix, 292 pp. \$3.50.

Students of business history will be grateful to Mr. Carr for the clarity with which he tells the complex story of the Aluminum Company of America from its inception in 1888 until the mid-20th century. The story began with the discovery in 1886 by Charles M. Hall of a cheap method of separating metallic aluminum from its compounds. Two years later the invention had the financial support of Pittsburg metallurgists who built a \$20,000 pilot plant to test its commercial possibilities. In 1889 this

"seed money" was increased to \$1,000,000 and a daily output of fifty pounds achieved with difficulty. From these relatively humble beginnings Alcoa expanded until its capital amounted to hundreds of millions and its "integrated" operations, from the mining and refining of ore to the manufacture of both mill and consumer products, were done by numerous subsidiaries in both the United States and abroad. One of the most thoroughly investigated companies in America, Alcoa emerged from charges brought in 1912, 1922, and 1937 under the Sherman Act with an almost entirely clean bill of health.

Had Mr. Carr, Alcoa's director of public relations for fifteen years, taken his readers to the seat of managerial decisions in the Board room, and also explained the relationships between the parent and subsidiary companies, students would have reason for even more gratitude to him. His book is a "company history" which in no way discredits Alcoa. Yet it would have been extremely difficult for him to have presented evidence unfavorable to the company, if such evidence exists, so long as it is possible that the Justice Department, which uses past behavior to show the continuing nature of policy, will fail to place that behavior in its proper context of contemporary business conditions and social philosophy.

STUART BRUCHEY

*Homes and Gardens in Old Virginia.* Revised Edition. Richmond: Garrett and Massie, 1950. xvi, 544 pp. \$7.50.

Here is a book that should be on the shelves of every library whose owner loves fine old homes and gardens. There are illustrations and brief accounts of nearly 200 houses and other buildings in this book on the Old Dominion. Unlike the earlier edition, which was intended primarily as a guide book, the present volume has been written as a book of reference. It falls somewhat short of being the research volume many will hope for, however. The descriptions and histories are short and undocumented, there are no floor plans, and the lack of county or regional maps to accompany appropriate chapters hampers its usefulness. If the volume does not quite measure up to the standards strived for in the "historic house" articles in this journal, it is nonetheless a welcome addition to the materials on the subject now available.

*A Short History and Bibliography of Ossining Newspapers 1797-1951.* By VIRGINIA LARKIN REDWAY. Ossining, N. Y.: Privately Printed, 1951. 34 pp.

Just what its title implies, this pamphlet fills a niche in the history of Westchester County, New York. Mrs. Redway includes in this account something of the lives of the men connected with the several newspapers and their place in and influence on the community. A bibliography of all Ossining newspapers is appended.



*Records of the Accounting Department of the Office of Price Administration.* Compiled by M. H. FISHBEIN and E. C. BENNETT. *Records of the Bureau of Ordnance.* Compiled by W. F. SHONKWILER. *Records of the Solid Fuels Administration for War.* Compiled by E. F. MARTIN. (Preliminary Inventories Numbers 32, 33, 34.) Washington: National Archives, 1951. vii, 108; v, 33; v, 39 pp.

The "preliminary" inventory, of which 34 have now been issued, is the most detailed and useful tool the scholar can, and should normally, expect the National Archives to publish. (Special lists, such as the recent *List of Documents Relating to Special Agents of the Department of State, 1789-1906*, are occasionally issued.) The three inventories under review give evidence of the care and meticulous precision one anticipates in National Archives publications. Principal interest in the first and last probably is in the speed with which these records have been processed, made available, and described. The records of the Bureau of Ordnance (established in 1842) offer greater reward to most students of American history. One is struck by the apparent completeness and ready accessibility of the Bureau's files for more than a century.

#### OTHER BOOKS RECEIVED

*Primitive Painters in America, 1750-1950.* By JEAN LIPMAN and ALICE WINCHESTER. New York: Dodd, Mead, 1950. 182 pp. (Passano Fund Purchase.)

*Town Meeting for America.* By WM. BROSS LLOYD, JR. New York: Island Press, 1951. 84 pp.

*Engineers of the Southwest Pacific, 1944-1945.* [Vols. I, II, VII, VIII.] Edited by GEORGE A. MEIDLING. [Washington: Government Printing Office.] 1947-50.

*Shells.* By HENRY LEE SMITH; edited by MARY F. GOODWIN. Baltimore: 1951. 76 pp.

*Practical Book of American Silver.* By EDWARD WENHAM. Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1949. 275 pp. (Passano Fund Purchase.)

## NOTES AND QUERIES

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### UNKNOWN MARYLAND: THE POTOMAC VALLEY

By FREDERICK GUTHEIM <sup>1</sup>

That part of Maryland which lies within the drainage basin of the Potomac River is not a very large part of Maryland. Yet it is an important part, and it is less well known than the geographically larger part of the State that lies below the falls of the rivers, the part of our state that was settled earlier, which saw the great prosperity that came with the cultivation of tobacco, and has been the face of Maryland as a century of historians (and romancers) have shown it to the world. The picture of Maryland that is painted in films, popular novels, and short stories is invariably a picture of Tidewater Maryland. Our splendid colonial days, our prosperous plantations, the social graces and culinary triumphs to which they gave birth—these must now make way for a broader scheme of things.

I shall try to indicate, in a general way, some of the reasons why the western part of the state should be of interest to those who live in the eastern part, why what happens in the rural sections and the small towns affects the life of our metropolis. But what is there in the Potomac, and especially the Piedmont Potomac, that meets these standards?

Let us begin with the historical aspects of the question. It is quite impossible to understand the dynamic forces behind the settlement beyond the tidewater region in the 17th century if we do not understand the compulsion of the search for minerals, the search for a passage to the Indies, which led to the exploration of the upper valleys. Even the economy with its more diversified trade with the Indians in the Potomac, as in many of the other eastward flowing rivers, saw its greatest activity above the falls.

The 18th century was the golden age of the plantation, but even here we can see that in large part it was the trade in western lands that paid the bills of many a plantation and postponed the day of reckoning. If we do not understand the West in Maryland we shall fail to understand the forces that propelled our State to rebellion. And if we do not understand the agricultural development of the Monocacy and Cumberland valleys, we shall be unable to understand the phenomenal growth of the city of Baltimore that caused its population to more than double in the period between

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<sup>1</sup> This contribution is based on notes of an address made at a meeting of the Maryland Historical Society in January, 1950.

1775 and 1800. The city grew as the hinterland of our Chesapeake Bay port city developed.

The population of Baltimore was recruited in no small part from the upland countryside, and these people brought with them the culture they had inherited or acquired in Western Maryland. The unique quality of that culture was the impact of the "wheat people" from Pennsylvania upon the "corn people" from Tidewater, and the patterns that resulted from this conflict.

Our State can take particular pride in the development of the wheat civilization of the upper Potomac, for it was there, more than any other place, that the prototype of our characteristic national agriculture in the Ohio and Mississippi valleys was formed. The wheat technology, if one may call it that, included the seed, the method of planting, cultivating, and harvesting, the tools and machinery that were appropriate to that work, the milling of wheat into flour, and even the design of sacks and barrels in which it was taken to market. The rapid development of that "Mesopotamia of the United States"—the wheat growing states of the Middle West—was based upon the earlier achievement on a smaller scale in the upper Potomac, from which most of the grain exported to Europe came for a half century. Here is a contribution indeed.

Although the Potomac above Tidewater occupies but a small part of Maryland, it is an integral part of the State, and useful particularly as it gives diversity and variety to what would otherwise be homogeneous to the point of monotony. It is like a farmer's woodlot, or his home lot, and like these, usefulness is enhanced by its relationship to the whole.

I do not urge upon you an empty-headed pride in Western Maryland, but I hope that a lack of balance that has long characterised historical writing in our State will be rectified. I should like to see our Society devote more attention to Western Maryland, and more to the 19th century, especially the later years of the 19th century. We might remind ourselves that the 20th century is half gone, and ask when history begins anyhow. The scope of our concerns with local history should be widened continually to reflect the broadening effect of modern knowledge, and in order that history may make its best contribution to the diversified interests of our people, to practical affairs, and to citizenship.

A great amount of work has been done in assembling the documents, the records, the objects and the memorabilia of the past, and preserving them for scholarship. But I will be forgiven for saying that we are still working upon too narrow a base. We do not have, for example, a consistent record of a single wheat farmer in the State of Maryland that compares with the records we have for a score of tobacco planters of the 18th century. We have little to record the growth of folk cultures, particularly the anonymous culture of the Scotch Irish or the Pennsylvania Germans. We lack an adequate account of nearly all our characteristic early industries, particularly the iron works. It is impossible to trace from documents in the possession of our Society the rise of coal mining, the history of mine technology, the life of the miners, the successive waves



of immigrants, the development of unionism and the consolidation of ownership, the complex interplay of mining and railroads, the gradual decline of the coal business to the point where Allegany County is a chronic depressed area, singled out by the Secretary of the Treasury as one of the few hard-core unemployment zones that require special remedial treatment by the government of the United States.

In pointing to such future opportunities, I hope you will not think that I am unaware of or dissatisfied with our past accomplishments. Everything I have said, indeed, should argue that these opportunities to study further our characteristic folk cultures, economic activities, and other aspects of the history of our state, especially in the Potomac Valley, are opportunities that have been unfolded but recently. But they exist today as the challenge we face, and I should be less than candid if I did not hold them up to you as opportunities.

Every part of our nation has its regional identity—except the middle Atlantic states. We share with Pennsylvania, Delaware, New Jersey, and New York, membership in that group of states. It is becoming clearer, although it is still far from distinct, that the regional character of these states exists, however dimly it has been stated. Our task of assembling the records that alone will adequately reflect the whole of our state for the whole of its past history, in reflection of the broader knowledge of our times, may be made easier if we can work together with these other states whose development in so many ways has corresponded with our own.

Finally I would urge a greater popular support for historical activities than we have received. The growing interest in how our people lived is broadening a local history base once found largely in genealogy. A better understanding of folk culture is fundamental to these broader interests and this broader support, and it is here that the contributions of the Potomac valley will prove richest and of most value. I have tried to explore some of these, as they fell within the scope of my book,<sup>2</sup> but I cannot pretend to have done more than offer a few suggestions for other students.

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### A TRIBUTE TO WESTERN MARYLAND

The State loyalties of Marylanders begin, understandably enough, in their own counties or regions. As a consequence those from the Eastern Shore, Southern Maryland, and Baltimore are not always so well informed and appreciative of other regions as they might be. The neglect of Western Maryland history, for example, is almost proverbial. This region, which by common consent consists of the six western counties of Garrett, Allegany, Washington, Frederick, Carroll, and Montgomery, has a recorded history of more than 200 years. Few would contend that this history is as rich as that of some other sections of the State, but it is a varied, significant, and important history.

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<sup>2</sup> Frederick Gutheim, *The Potomac* (New York: Rinehart, 1949). Reviewed in *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XLV (March, 1950), 62-63.—EDITOR.

The present population of the area may be a matter of surprise: The six counties (less the suburban portions adjacent to the District of Columbia) have a population in excess of 350,000. Indeed there are a quarter of a million residents in the four westernmost counties alone. It is to the present residents of Western Maryland and their forbears that this issue of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* is dedicated.

From its inception, the *Magazine* has carried many articles of Western Maryland interest. For example, there was an essay on Washington County in 1907 (II, 347-354), a memoir of Richard Potts in 1910 (V, 63-68), the Taney-Van Buren correspondence in 1913 (VIII, 305-326), a note on the founder of Taneytown in 1916 (XI, 74-75), and articles on the Loyalist plot in Frederick (XL, 251-260) and Hagerstown in the Civil War (XL, 201-210) in 1945. Only a few citations are given here, and one concludes that county bibliographies or a Western Maryland bibliography from the *Magazine* would be impressive. Such articles will continue to appear in future issues.

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*Centennial of Western Maryland Railway*—Some extended notice of the 100th anniversary of the Western Maryland Railway would certainly be necessary in this issue of the *Magazine* were it not known that its history written by Harold Williams is to be published this summer. The most exciting days were surely those when Union troops and supplies were moved to Gettysburg before the crucial battle there. In November, 1863, a four-car special train carrying President Lincoln and party to that city travelled over tracks that became part of the Western Maryland. Less spectacular but quite as impressive is the story of the development of the railroad under men like John M. Hood to its present importance. As a review of Mr. Williams' book is to be published in a future issue, a further account is not necessary here.

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*Early Industrial Experiment in Maryland*—A copy of a thesis submitted to the University of Maryland by William McAlpine Richards, *An Experiment in Industrial Feudalism at Lonaconing, Maryland, 1837-1860* has been presented to the Maryland Historical Society. This thesis, completed in 1950, deals with an early mining company town in Allegany County. When the George's Creek Coal and Iron Company was granted a charter from the State of Maryland, it was given extensive authority to organize and supervise the community which was to house its workers, in addition to its authorization to carry on mining operations. Richards discusses the development of the industrial operations of the company, its controls over the community, its labor relations, and other related problems. Those interested in Western Maryland's industrial development and the relations of industry to society in the early 19th century should find Richard's study of interest.

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*Barbara Frietschie*—The Maryland Historical Society has recently acquired a scrapbook of newspaper clippings and letters pertaining to Barbara Frietschie which had been gathered by Lewis H. Steiner and Bernard C. Steiner. Ever since 1863 when Whittier's poem about Dame Barbara was published, a controversy has existed as to whether Whittier's eulogy of the nonagenarian Frederick heroine was based on fact or fiction. In the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXXVII (1942), 227-254, 400-413, Dorothy M. and William R. Quynn sifted the evidence surrounding the supposed incident, uncovered new information, and conclusively demonstrated that the flag incident as portrayed by Whittier could not have taken place. The Quynns did make clear, however, that such a story would not have been inconsistent with Dame Barbara's character or situation, and that there undoubtedly was same factual basis of demonstrated patriotism behind the legend Whittier eulogized.

In the controversy over the veracity of the Barbara Frietschie story, Dr. Lewis H. Steiner (1827-1892) was a principal witness. His father had looked after some business affairs for Barbara Frietschie, the doctor knew Barbara personally, he was in Frederick during the Confederate occupancy and had kept a journal which contained a reference to a flag incident. Steiner's position in the controversy was not unlike that of the Quynns in so far as he would not defend the literal accuracy of the Whittier poem, but insisted that it was not inconsistent with the spirit of the old lady. Dr. Steiner's son, Bernard (1867-1926), well known for his long service as Librarian of Enoch Pratt Free Library, and his many services to the Maryland Historical Society, continued his father's interest in the Frietschie incident and added further information to the scrapbook on Barbara as it appeared in the presses. Those who are interested in the Frederick heroine will find the Steiner scrapbook to be a useful collection on controversial writings on the subject.

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*Montgomery County*—A book, generously illustrated, about Montgomery County homes and history is to be published later this summer. The author is Mr. Roger B. Farquhar, vice-president of that county's historical society. A review will be carried in a future issue.

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*Mount Vernon Silver*—The Mount Vernon Ladies' Association of the Union has asked Mr. John Marshall Phillips, Director of the Yale Gallery of Fine Arts, to write its book on the original Mount Vernon silver. Considerable information already exists in the records of the Association, at Mount Vernon, relating to the Washington silver, but the story is not complete. This inquiry is directed to all who may have useful knowledge upon the subject. Anyone having such information is urged to communicate with me as soon as possible.

JOHN BEVERLEY RIGGS,  
Research Associate, Mount Vernon, Virginia.



*Ringgold Papers*—Information is requested concerning location of the personal papers of General Samuel Ringgold (1770-1829), of Fountain Rock, Washington County.

Prof. DIETER CUNZ,  
University of Maryland, College Park, Md.

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"*Macaroni*"—*Maryland Troops*?—Anyone who has specific information about the use of the term macaroni meaning "a body of Maryland soldiers in the Revolutionary War, wearing a gay uniform" is requested to communicate it to the Society for Prof. Giuseppe Prezzolini.

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*Jones, Thomas D.*—Information requested about present location and ownership of any sculpture (wood, bronze, or stone) by Jones (1812-1888).

ROBERT PRICE,  
Otterbein College, Westerville, Ohio.

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*Orford*—Want name of Md. County where James A. Orford was living when his daughter Margaret was born, Sep. 9, 1787. Also his dates and any other information concerning this family. Margaret married (when? where?) William Roberts and is buried in Daviess Co., Ky.

Miss JEWELL ROBERTS,  
1518 Kingshighway, East St. Louis, Ill.

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*Ryan*—Information wanted of early Ryan Family of Anne Arundel Co., especially parentage of Sarah Ryan, m. Mar. 37, 1780, William Hayes believed to be the same who was a grocer at the old Fish Market, Baltimore (1802-1817), then ship-owner, d. Jan. 27, 1825, ca. 70 years. Have considerable data mostly before 1800 on Griffin and Hayes-Hays of Md.; would like to exchange.

R. G. SMITH,  
2904 13th St. South, Arlington, Va.

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*Sewall, James*—of "Holy Hall," Elkton was the son of Bazell (Basil) Sewell of Talbot Co. who died in 1802. James Sewall m. (about 1802) Ann Maria Rudolph and they had issue a son James M. and two daughters, Martha and Caroline. Martha m. — Glenn, and Caroline m. Thomas V. Oliver of Boston; both daughters had issue. In his will dated Jan. 5, 1842, James Sewall mentions nephews Robert Dawson, Basil Sewall, and Dr. Thomas R Sewall; also, a granddaughter, Rosa Glenn. Information is desired regarding the ancestry of (Gen.) James Sewall and his father Bazell Sewell. Would like to contact any of the descendants of the persons mentioned in this inquiry.

HARRY REIFSNYDER,  
5705 Elgin Avenue, Pittsburgh 6, Penna.

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*Smathers*—Free assistance to persons of surname Smathers (and Smither, Smether, etc.) desiring to verify or establish their family lines is offered by Ray K. Smathers, Historian, Smathers Family Memorial Collection, Haywood County Public Library, Waynesville, N. C.

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*Maryland Medical Institute*—During what years was the Maryland Medical Institute (Baltimore) in existence, and how much of that time was Dr. David Stewart, a founder in 1847, associated with it?

Reference Librarian,  
School of Pharmacy, Univ. of Maryland,  
Lombard and Greene Sts., Baltimore

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## CONTRIBUTORS

PROFESSOR CUNZ, of the University of Maryland, is the author of *The Maryland Germans* and numerous articles about the German settlers and their descendants. ☆ Author of a biography of Horatio Sharpe as his doctoral dissertation, MR. HIGH is now teaching at the University of Washington. ☆ A young attorney in Frederick, MR. MATHIAS recently read a paper on the Court Square at a meeting of the county historical society, of which he is secretary. ☆ MRS. W. A. PICKENS, a descendant of Col. Joshua Gist, incorporates much family tradition in her description of the old Gist home. ☆ MR. HOYT, a frequent contributor to scholarly journals and a former member of the staff of the Society, is well known to the readers of the *Magazine*.

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# MARYLAND

## HISTORICAL MAGAZINE



Tulip Hill, Anne Arundel County  
Built by Samuel Galloway

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY  
BALTIMORE

*September • 1952*



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# MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

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SEPTEMBER, 1952

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*Annual Subscriptions to the Magazine \$4.00. Each issue \$1.00. The Magazine assumes no responsibility for statements or opinions expressed in its pages.*

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FRED SHELLEY, *Editor*

FRANCIS C. HABER, *Associate Editor*

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The Magazine is entered as second class matter, at the post office at Baltimore, Maryland, under Act of August 24, 1912.

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## THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

H. IRVINE KEYSER MEMORIAL BUILDINGS

201 W. MONUMENT STREET, BALTIMORE 1

GEORGE L. RADCLIFFE, President; JAMES W. FOSTER, Director

The Maryland Historical Society, incorporated in 1844, was organized to collect, preserve and spread information relating to the history of Maryland and of the United States. Its threefold program includes

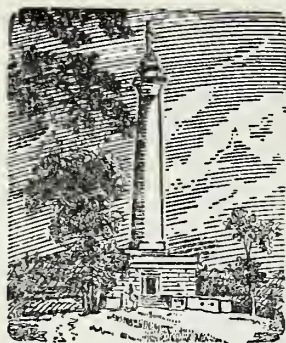
1. Collection of manuscript and printed materials, maps, prints, paintings, furniture, silver, fabrics, maritime items, and other objects of interest;
2. Preservation of these materials for the benefit of all who care to enjoy them, and exhibition of items which will encourage an understanding of State and National history; and
3. Spread of historical information relating to Maryland and the rest of the country by means of addresses at the Society's home by authorities in various fields; addresses to outside groups by officers and staff of the Society; publication of the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, a quarterly containing original articles about State history; *Maryland History Notes*, a quarterly bulletin of news of the Society and other local historical items, and of the *Archives of Maryland* under the authority of the State.

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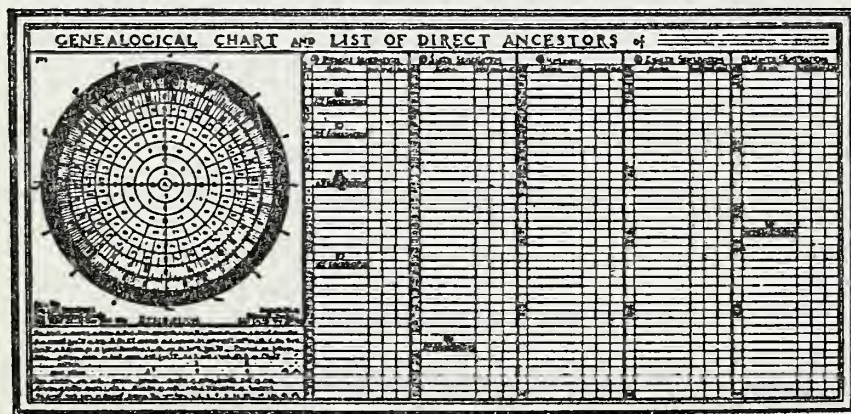
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# MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

*A Quarterly*

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Volume XLVII

SEPTEMBER, 1952

Number 3

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## BALTIMORE AND THE EMBARGO 1807-1809

By JOHN S. PANCAKE

Our ships all in motion,  
Once whitened the ocean,  
They sail'd and return'd with a *cargo*;  
Now doom'd to decay  
They have fallen a prey  
To Jefferson, worms, and Embargo.<sup>1</sup>

COMMERCIAL-MINDED citizens of Baltimore may have expressed sentiments similar to those in the above verse when the Tenth Congress, in December, 1807, passed the embargo legislation which virtually halted all United States shipping to foreign ports.

This drastic action was taken as the result of a series of incidents and developments in the relations between the United States

<sup>1</sup> *Port Folio*, July 30, 1808, 80. Quoted in full in Walter Wilson Jennings, *The American Embargo* (Iowa City, 1929), 128. It also appeared in the *Boston Repertory* July 15, 1808.

and Europe which were complicated by the great struggle waged by England and her allies against Napoleon. Almost immediately after the rupture of the Peace of Amiens England, fighting desperately for European supremacy, had taken steps to insure her naval and maritime superiority. In doing so she had violated American neutral rights. In the beginning these violations took the form of impressment of American seamen. American commerce flourished, since the United States was virtually the only neutral carrier of food and supplies to the belligerents. England, in retaliation, began a series of restrictions designed to tighten the blockade which she had flung around Napoleon and his allies. She invoked the Rule of 1756 which prevented direct trade between French colonies and the home country. The *Essex* decision, with its "broken voyage" dictum, prevented indirect trade. In looking for violations of these other British regulations, embodied in a series of sweeping Orders in Council, British cruisers hovered off the coast of the United States in such numbers as to constitute a virtual blockade.

Through the years 1805 and 1806 American ships were subjected to search, seizure, and impressment of seamen by high-handed British captains. To a lesser extent they also suffered from depredations by the French. Already Napoleon had declared a paper blockade on England and, while it lacked the rigid enforcement which the British fleet afforded English laws, it gave ample excuse for frequent seizures justified under the allegation of contraband trade with Great Britain.

Efforts to reach some sort of agreement with England failed when President Jefferson rejected the abortive Monroe-Pinckney Treaty of 1806. As the year 1807 opened the French and English attempts at mutual strangulation put the neutral American carriers in the position of being seized by France if they had any dealings (even a stop for search) with the English, and liable to English seizure if they attempted to trade with the Continent without first visiting an English port for clearance. In June, 1807, the American naval frigate *Chesapeake*, clearing the Virginia Capes for her shakedown, was accosted by H.M.S. *Leopard* and ordered to heave to for search. This was the first time that the British had gone so far as to challenge an American man-of-war, and Commodore Barron, the *Chesapeake's* commander, refused the *Leopard's* order. The *Leopard* replied with a broadside and proceeded to batter the

*Chesapeake* into submission. The British commander then boarded her and removed four of the *Chesapeake's* crew, alleged deserters from the British Navy.

The incident rocked the country and public opinion reached a white heat. If Jefferson had wanted war he could have had it at the snap of his fingers. But the President had other plans. For some time he had contemplated the idea of economic coercion, particularly effective, he thought, against a nation so dependent on trade as Great Britain. Allowing angry passions to cool during the summer of 1807 (and also allowing time for England's reaction and possible abatement of her Orders-in-Council), he finally called Congress into special session in the fall of 1807. In December news arrived from England announcing the most sweeping Order in Council yet issued by His Majesty's government. Jefferson immediately sent Congress a message recommending an embargo of all American shipping except that engaged in coast-wise trade.

General Samuel Smith of Baltimore, one of the two Maryland Senators, reported the bill out of committee and pushed it through by a 22 to 6 vote on December 18.<sup>2</sup> Little opposition was encountered in the Senate but in the House the Federalist minority fought back strenuously, particularly the New Englanders. The final vote was 82 to 44 in favor, with Baltimore's William McCreery voting with the majority.<sup>3</sup>

The administration was generally applauded for its action and nowhere more than in Baltimore. Commercial interests in the town were exasperated with the intolerable conditions which prevailed as the result of British and French high-handedness. Senator Smith, himself a prominent merchant, had written the previous summer: "We have lost the *Apollo* near Naples by British capture and the *Rebecca* in the China Seas by same—and the *Ohio* by French capture near Tunis. This is peace like war."<sup>4</sup> The *Baltimore American* applauded the passage of the embargo; "... From the perfidy of the British court, we can place no reliance on her faith, other than the existing commercial connexions between the two countries. . . ." Thinking, as did many others, that

<sup>2</sup> *Annals of Congress*, 10th Congress, 1st session, 51-52.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 10th Congress, 1st session, 1221.

<sup>4</sup> Smith to Wilson Cary Nicholas, August 24, 1807. Smith-Carter Papers, University of Virginia.



the embargo might well be the prelude to war, the editor continued stoutly:

If an appeal is made to arms, they will find the flame of '76 not to be extinct. The mere remembrance of the bloody scenes of former days, will inspire Americans with a rennovated hatred against the merciless marauder of the seas. . . .<sup>5</sup>

Nor did this opinion appear to be merely temporary enthusiasm for defiance to America's old enemy. After three months of restriction the Baltimore *Evening Post* reported:

Though all lamented the necessity which imposed it, there were few, very few, reflecting men who do not approbate [the embargo]; and for the honor of the people of Baltimore and the information of the *Federalists of Boston*, who presume that every man, formerly of *their* party, MUST be opposed to every measure of the present administration, we feel free to declare, that the late proceedings of the government . . . have met the most general and cordial support—not only from republicans, but from those commonly called *Federalists*.<sup>6</sup>

The enactment of the embargo marked a triumph of Jefferson's personal leadership. Never before had any President demanded such sacrifice of a powerful business group, as well as of the country at large. Said the historian, Henry Adams: "His triumph was almost a marvel; but one could not fail to see the risks."<sup>7</sup> The risks were not only a crippling blow to the nation's economy but the possibility of serious political defection. Federalism might be at a low ebb in national politics but not so on the state level. There were signs that rifts might appear in the Republican party itself if the pressure became too great. Already John Randolph had split with the Sage of Monticello, and he was not at all hesitant in pointing out that Jefferson's policy favored Napoleon and France. "Perhaps the Prince Regent of the *future king* of our country is in this house," he said. And Matthew Lyon of Kentucky said bluntly, "The cat is out of the bag. We are going to fight *Great Britain* at the call of *France*."<sup>8</sup>

Maryland sentiment, as already mentioned, was generally favorable and the state legislature passed a resolution of endorsement.

<sup>5</sup> Baltimore *American and Commercial Daily Advertiser*, Dec. 24, 1807.

<sup>6</sup> Baltimore *Evening Post*, March 23, 1808.

<sup>7</sup> Henry Adams, *History of the United States of America during the Administrations of Thomas Jefferson and James Madison* (New York, 1890), IV, 176.

<sup>8</sup> *Columbian Centinel* (Boston), Jan. 9, 1808. (Both Lyon and Randolph quoted.)

But in Maryland, as in New England, the strong remnant of Federalism was immediately and violently vocal. Philip Barton Key denounced the measure on the floor of the House of Representatives<sup>9</sup> and in Baltimore the Federalist press took up the cry. Said the *North American*: "The political intelligence from the great Atlantic States, if it do not warrant entire confidence that the golden principles of FEDERALISM have revived in full vigor and health, at last instructs us that the fatal *Embargo law* threatens fearful ruin to the tottering cause of democracy." As we shall see, the *North American* was not the only observer to forecast the use of anti-embargo sentiment to revive the political hopes of the Federalists. The editor also engaged in some 19th century McCarthyism when he continued: "The good and powerful portion of the people are prepared constitutionally to rise up, in their strength against the destructive policy of our rulers. Let democracy, and her treacherous handmaiden, *French Influence* stand aghast. . . . The guilty may escape retributive vengeance for a while, but Justice will overtake them yet."<sup>10</sup>

But sentiment in Baltimore, as in most of the country, generally applauded the President's action. As Congress adjourned in the early spring of 1808, after having passed supplementary legislation for the enforcement of the embargo, the general feeling was probably close to that expressed by Wilson Cary Nicholas of Virginia to his brother-in-law, General Smith. The alternatives were either war with both powers, in which case defeat seemed certain; alliance with France, a power already "too great for the good of the world"; or alliance with England, in which case the United States would be "helping build her maritime supremacy to the detriment of our own."<sup>11</sup> John Hollins, Baltimore merchant, expressed a similar opinion: "All ranks & degrees at this time are satisfied that it was a measure both proper & well-timed, & which saved the mercantile men from total ruin."<sup>12</sup>

<sup>9</sup> *Annals*, 10th Congress, 1st session. 1706 ff.; 2118 ff.

<sup>10</sup> Baltimore *North American and Mercantile Daily Advertiser*, May 16, 1808. Quoted in Louis Martin Sears, *Jefferson and the Embargo* (Durham, 1927), 223. Barent Gardinier, New York Congressman, made indirect charges that the administration was pursuing a policy dictated by Napoleon. He was also believed to be the author of a letter published in the *New York Evening Post* (Dec. 19, 1807) which made the definite charge that the President was under the influence and dictation of France. Ultimately Gardinier fought a duel with George Campbell of Kentucky and was severely wounded. Adams, *History*, IV, 203.

<sup>11</sup> Nicholas to ———, March 30, 1808. Wilson Cary Nicholas, MSS, Library of Congress.

<sup>12</sup> John Hollins to W. C. Nicholas, April 5, 1808. *Ibid.*

The summer of 1808 found Baltimore beginning to feel the pinch. The importance of Baltimore as a port has been obscured in many accounts of the commercial history of this period and particularly of the embargo itself. This is understandable in view of the fact that the most violent and extreme opposition came from New England. Nor was the latter section modest in proclaiming its commercial importance and the burdens which the embargo imposed upon it. Yet in 1806 1,043 seamen were registered in Baltimore as compared with 1,001 in Boston.<sup>13</sup> Baltimore's exports for the year 1805 amounted to \$7,601,300 out of a total for the United States of \$95,566,021.<sup>14</sup> The combined exports of the ports of Massachusetts amounted to \$19,000,000 while Pennsylvania's exports totaled \$13,700,000 and New York's \$23,000,000. In the years 1806 and 1807 the figure for Baltimore went over the ten million mark, an increase of over 30%. Boston's increase in the same period was appreciably less, about 20%.<sup>15</sup>

The commercial life of Baltimore, then, was considerable and the economic blow struck by the embargo was crippling. In 1808 Baltimore's exports dropped to a pitiful \$1,904,700, a loss of better than 80%. Total exports of the United States in the same period amounted to \$22,430,960.<sup>16</sup> Farmers from nearby districts, particularly from the wheat country of the Monocacy Valley, complained of the lack of a market and of the high cost of manufactured goods.<sup>17</sup> "The Farmer is nearly ruined by Mr. Jefferson's experiments," cried the Baltimore *Federal Republican*, "who cannot sell his crop for half price, and whose grain is rotting upon his hands. . . ." <sup>18</sup> On the Baltimore market prices of imported goods were climbing. The end of the year would find lemons up 168%, high grade brandy up 33⅓%, low grade 50%, and shoes up 15% to 33%.<sup>19</sup>

"The only way for the people to save themselves from ruin is

<sup>13</sup> *American State Papers*, Commerce and Navigation, I, 725.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 672. Figures in the tables consulted give the values for the entire state. The above estimates are based on the assumption that trade of individual ports is in ratio to their registered shipping, the latter being listed by towns. Whether this assumption is entirely correct or not is of no great importance since the purpose for which the figures are used above is primarily to show rates of increase and decrease.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 672, 722.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 739.

<sup>17</sup> *Evening Post*, June 11, 1808.

<sup>18</sup> *Baltimore Federal Republican and Commercial Gazette*, August 22, 1808.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, Dec. 12, 1808.



to turn such unworthy servants out of office and elect men who they know will vote against the embargo and all such measures as are intended to destroy commerce and injure agriculture which is her hand-maid," concluded the *Federal Republican*.<sup>20</sup> Robert Goodloe Harper, staunch Federalist and prominent Baltimore attorney, by way of protest, refused to drill his militia company of artillery during the Fourth of July celebration.<sup>21</sup> But then, as the *Evening Post* pointed out, ". . . toasts given by MERCHANTS of this city . . . generally countenance and support the EMBARGO, while toasts drunk by LAWYERS . . . generally reprehended the measure." <sup>22</sup>

Not the least vociferous of the "Lawyers" was Luther Martin, the old Bulldog of Federalism himself, who attacked the administration under the *nom de plume* of "Honest Politician." The *Evening Post* denounced him as "Luther, Lord of Slander Hall" and suggested a coat-of-arms: "Crest—decanter, *rampant*. Supporters—Dexter fide, *Bibo*, his brows entwined with wine glasses—on the sinister, *Belial*, richly ornamented with the insignia of 'OUR noble and ancient order' of Billingsgate. Motto—for my desserts." <sup>23</sup>

Despite the Federalist attacks and the staggering loss of trade the merchants generally stood firm. "It is the height of folly," said the *Evening Post*, "to assert that the restrictions of the embargo are not hard to be borne—it is the summit of ignorance to believe that the people do not and will not suffer much." But people are still in favor of the measure as the best means to coerce the belligerent powers into concession. This is the view "among some of the greatest shipowners of this port." So Baltimore tightened its belt and determined "bravely to meet the throes and convulsions of the day." <sup>24</sup> It may be well to note that the *Post's* somewhat sanctimonious air was marred by the fact that Baltimore was included in the list of ports which the Secretary of the Treasury, Albert Gallatin, had reported as having been guilty of violations of the embargo.<sup>25</sup> And John Randolph announced on the floor of the House of Representatives that one hundred thou-

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, Aug. 28, 1808.

<sup>21</sup> *Evening Post*, July 5, 1808.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, July 6, 1808.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, July 13, 1808.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, August 14, 1808.

<sup>25</sup> *American Register* (Philadelphia, 1808-1809), V, 85.

sand barrels of flour were smuggled out of Baltimore during 1808.<sup>26</sup>

As the summer of 1808 passed into fall there was little evidence that the embargo which the Jeffersonian Republicans supported so stoutly was having much effect upon England. Facts and statistics were presented by supporters of the administration to show that its effects on the British Empire were ruinous, particularly in the colonies. Equally numerous were the evidences brought forward by the advocates of repeal to show that its disastrous effects upon the United States were uncompensated by any appreciable effect upon England. Several points may be worth mentioning in this connection.

Circumstances peculiarly fortuitous to England enabled her to find other outlets for her trade. The flight of the royal family of Portugal to Brazil in order to escape the wrath of Napoleon resulted in that colony being thrown open to the trade of the world. Simultaneous outbreaks in the Spanish-American colonies which found Spain herself in the helpless throes of revolution, resulted in the opening of trade in many new areas in South America and the Caribbean. From this standpoint Jefferson's embargo could not have come at a more unpropitious moment for the United States. The *Edinburgh Review* noted the salutary effect of these new trade areas on British commerce: "Had it not been for these circumstances our loss of trade . . . would probably have been double what it actually was. . . ." <sup>27</sup>

Another unfortunate circumstance, from the American point of view, was the unusually good season enjoyed by British farmers. "In regard to Agriculture, we never had a more luxuriant season—Pasture and mowing grass in abundance—the crops of Grain and Potatoes promise well, and notwithstanding the Embargo in the United States, *Wheat* is decreasing in price . . ." wrote an English correspondent to an American friend in July of 1808.<sup>28</sup> There was, in short, no real food pinch. But in other respects the embargo proved more effective. Tobacco jumped from 200% to 265% in price over the 1807 level, cotton more than doubled, and British merchants and manufacturers of these goods suffered accordingly.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>26</sup> *Annals*, 10th Congress, 2nd session, 2239.

<sup>27</sup> Quoted in Jennings, *Embargo*, 80.

<sup>28</sup> *Boston Gazette*, September 22, 1808. Quoted in Jennings, *Embargo*, 75.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 72-73.

There was undoubtedly a good deal of distress among the English working classes. "Probably at least five thousand families of workingmen were reduced to pauperism by the embargo and the decrees of Napoleon," says Henry Adams.<sup>30</sup> But the workingman had no vote and therefore no means of exerting pressure on his government. In any event, England showed no sign of yielding to pressure and granting concessions to the 'United States.

In this state of affairs Republicans began to feel uneasy and restive, particularly in view of the approaching elections of 1808. Federalists were taking advantage of the discontent among business elements, to make a bid for supremacy. New England in particular was in revolt and, although they were to fail in their attempt to oust Republican Governor James Sullivan, the Federalists gained a decisive majority in the state legislature of Massachusetts.

In Maryland the Federalists were likewise on the march. John Hollins reported to Wilson Cary Nicholas, the Virginia intimate of the President, that although he was confident of a Republican victory the Federalists were gaining ground on an anti-embargo campaign.<sup>31</sup> Hollins would have been wiser to take a more pessimistic view. The impetus which the Federalists received in 1808 culminated in their complete triumph in the state in 1812. Denying all connection with New England's Essex Junto, they gave nine electoral votes to the Republican presidential candidate, James Madison. But at the state level the Federalists gained a majority in the lower house of the state legislature. Baltimore, however, voted solidly Republican, the victory being celebrated with a gin party on Gallows Hill, spirits courtesy of their newly re-elected United States senator, Samuel Smith.<sup>32</sup>

The "lame duck" Congress which assembled in November,

<sup>30</sup> Adams, *History*, IV, 330.

<sup>31</sup> Hollins to Nicholas, September 10, 1808. W. C. Nicholas MSS.

<sup>32</sup> *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), Dec. 8, 1808. John Thomas Scharf, *History of Maryland from Its Earliest Beginnings to the Present Day* (Baltimore, 1879), II, 631. Richard Hildreth, *The History of the United States, 1788-1821* (New York, 1880), VI, 95. Other indications of Republican weaknesses were evident in the split over the nomination of Madison. Smith and others wanted to support Clinton while a Virginia group rallied behind Monroe. There was also a good deal of animosity between the Smiths and Albert Gallatin. The connection between these rifts and the embargo is, however, tenuous and perhaps even non-existent, although much of it can be traced to the discontent of some Republicans, notably General Smith, with administration of foreign policy. See Henry Adams, *History*, IV, and his *Life of Albert Gallatin* (Philadelphia, 1880), 388 ff.



1808, with administration forces still in control, was subjected to increasing pressure. Bitter opposition came from the Federalists, strengthened by the knowledge of their gains in the recent elections. Even the cabinet was feeling the rising temper of discontent. Secretary of the Navy Robert Smith, brother of the Maryland Senator, was under heavy fire from the Secretary of the Treasury because his department had not stamped out smuggling. In August he had written to Gallatin:

Most fervently ought we to pray to be relieved from the various embarrassments of this said embargo. Upon it there will in some States, in the next few months, assuredly be engendered monsters. Would that we could be placed on proper ground for calling in this mischief-making busy-body.<sup>33</sup>

But the senator from Baltimore remained firm in his support of the embargo and bade his colleagues be of good cheer. "Britain," he said, "[has] proved in the past that the word of Mr. Canning could not be trusted." Pointing out that he himself had suffered severely from the embargo, he added: "[I] will be the first to ask that it be lifted—when Britain will treat with us on terms compatible with national dignity and security." Then he turned on the carping New Englanders. "The gentlemen from New England protest that it is unfair to that section that they bear the burden for the whole country. Perhaps the gentlemen have never heard of New York which exports more than all New England combined (and where the embargo is favored); or Maryland which exports three-fifths of all the New England States." There was no difference, he said, between regulations made for the United States by the English now and those which they had attempted to impose before 1776.

They forget that we are independent—I trust, Mr. President, that we shall not also forget it. [He concluded:] No doubt shall remain to distant times, of our determination and our ability to have continued resistance; and that no step which could be mistakenly construed into concession, should be taken on our part, while it can be a question, whether the plan devised for our destruction has, or has not, either completely failed or been unequivocally abandoned.<sup>34</sup>

But William Patterson, a prominent Baltimore merchant and brother-in-law of General Smith, wrote with less conviction:

<sup>33</sup> Henry Adams, *Writings of Albert Gallatin* (Philadelphia, 1879), I, 396.

<sup>34</sup> *Annals*, 10th Congress, 2nd session, 35-39; 138-161.

"... If continued [the embargo] will bring about a revolution in government & perhaps civil war, at any rate it must throw the government into the hands of the Federalists . . . be assured that this state of things cannot be continued."<sup>35</sup> Patterson may have been rather bitterly remembering his feeling of the previous spring when he had written: "... Every thinking man in the community be him Republican or Federalist sees and knows the propriety and necessity of the embargo . . . [and] it is very desirable that it should be continued until the powers at war shall feel the necessity of changing their conduct towards us. . . . But I have my doubts and fears that the people of this country have not sufficient virtue and perseverance to wait this event."<sup>36</sup>

The administration, far from giving ground before the growing discontent, decided that more rigid enforcement was necessary in order to increase the effectiveness of the embargo. To this end it recommended and Congress passed the Enforcement Act which authorized customs officials to make searches under general warrants. The passage of the un-Republican measure over the bitter opposition of the Federalists once more demonstrated the amazing control which Jefferson held over his party. But the reaction to the bill was violent. In Baltimore the *Federal Republican* savagely hurled back at the Republicans the principles of the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions. It expressed the belief that the embargo was "a law which is to be enforced at the point of a bayonet [and] will bring on a struggle which may terminate in the overthrow of the government. Our rulers are answerable for the issue."<sup>37</sup> Even the President's closest aides expressed their doubts.<sup>38</sup> But five thousand citizens of Baltimore expressed their approbation of the continuation of the embargo as late as February 1.<sup>39</sup> Yet the end was not far off.

Jefferson himself acknowledged that the embargo could not be continued much longer. Yet he hoped to keep it in force until June 1, hoping against hope that by that date England would make concessions. But on Monday, February 27, 1809, Congress voted the repeal of the embargo and, to Jefferson's chagrin, set March 4, the date of his retirement from office, as the time for the repeal to

<sup>35</sup> To Wilson Cary Nicholas, Dec. 1, 1808. W. C. Nicholas Mss.

<sup>36</sup> To same, May 11, 1808. *Ibid.*

<sup>37</sup> Quoted from the *Federal Republican* in the *Connecticut Courant*, Jan. 18, 1809.

<sup>38</sup> Adams, *History*, IV, 385-387.

<sup>39</sup> *National Intelligencer*, Feb. 1, 1808.

go into effect. The entire Maryland delegation, including the embargo's recent vigorous supporter, Senator Smith, voted for repeal.<sup>40</sup>

One is forced to wonder at this rather sudden reversal, since Jefferson had only recently demonstrated the firmness of his control over the party. Based upon Jefferson's report of an interview with John Quincy Adams, written sixteen years after the event, some accounts note Jefferson's comment that he was profoundly disturbed by Adams' expressed conviction that unless the embargo was lifted New England would secede.<sup>41</sup> But at this time Jefferson was eighty-five years old and in the same letter he admitted that his mind was almost blank concerning events of former years.

There is more reliable evidence which has not received sufficient attention. Said the President on the 7th of February, 1809:

I thought that Congress had taken their ground firmly for continuing their embargo till June, and then war. But a sudden and unaccountable revolution of opinion took place last week . . . and in a kind of panic they voted the 4th of March for removing the embargo, and by such a majority as gave all reason to believe that they would not agree either to war or non-intercourse. This, too, after we had become satisfied that the Essex Junto had found their expectation desperate, of inducing the people there either to separation or forcible opposition.<sup>42</sup>

The "unaccountable revolution" was explained afterward.

I ascribe all this to one pseudo-Republican, Story. He came on . . . and staid only a few days; long enough, however, to get complete hold on Bacon, who, giving in to his representations, became panic-struck and communicated his panic to his colleagues, and they to a majority of Congress. They believed in the alternative of repeal or civil war, and produced the fatal measure of repeal.<sup>43</sup>

Both surprise and anger are mirrored in the above words. Surprise that the Republican majority had jumped over the traces, anger that the majority had been intimidated by the threat of secession—a threat which Jefferson believed no longer existed. The party machinery, or at least Jefferson's control over it, had

<sup>40</sup> *Annals*, 10th Congress, 2nd session, 409, 1541.

<sup>41</sup> Jefferson to William Branch Giles, Dec. 25, 1825. *Works* (Memorial Edition), ed. by A. A. Lipscomb and A. E. Bergh (Washington, 1904), XVI, 145.

<sup>42</sup> Jefferson to Thomas Mann Randolph, Feb. 7, 1809. *Ibid.*, XII, 248.

<sup>43</sup> Jefferson to General Henry Dearborn, July 16, 1810. *Ibid.*, XII, 399. The two individuals referred to were Joseph Story and Ezekial Bacon, both Massachusetts Republicans.



momentarily collapsed. The suggestion is here made that it was the pressure of the economic conditions of the embargo upon the structure of the party, not so much in New England, but in the Middle States, in such Republican strongholds as Baltimore, which led the members to accept the "out" supplied by Story and Bacon. Some may really have been convinced that secession was a near-reality. But the Essex Junto had been preaching secession since 1804. The Republican Party had defeated Federalism in New England before. But with the Federalists gaining ground in areas which had hitherto been solidly Republican, with rifts and rents appearing in the party structure itself, the rank and file may well have decided to remove the millstone from their necks as gracefully as possible. Whatever the validity of the above suggestion, party leaders felt the pressure of adherence to the embargo very keenly. In October Wilson Cary Nicholas had conveyed a warning to the President:

If the embargo could be executed and the people submit to it, I have no doubt it is our wisest course; but if the complete execution of it and the support of the people cannot be counted upon, it will neither answer our purpose nor will it be practicable to retain it. Upon both these points I have the strongest doubts. . . .<sup>44</sup>

James Monroe warned Maryland Republican stalwart Joseph Hopper Nicholson on the eve of the 1808 elections:

We are invited with great earnestness to give the incumbents all the support we can,—by which is meant to give them our votes at the approaching election; but it is not certain that we could give effectual support to the person in whose favor it is requested. . . . After what has passed, [the Republican party] has no right to suppose that we will, by voluntary sacrifice, consent to bury ourselves in the same tomb with it.<sup>45</sup>

In other words, if Republican strength in the Middle States went the way of New England, the party was in serious danger of extinction.

Jefferson and the embargo both went out on March 4, 1809. The Baltimore *Federal Republican* exulted:

The people will see that their interests have been betrayed and their rights have been infringed and the sacred provisions of the constitution violated, for the purpose of carrying into effect a visionary scheme, con-

<sup>44</sup> Nicholas to Jefferson, Oct. 20, 1808. Quoted in Adams, *History*, IV, 345.

<sup>45</sup> Monroe to Nicholson, Sept. 24, 1808. Quoted in *Ibid.*, IV, 346.

tinued by the great enemy of the civilized world to prostrate the only barrier which opposes his ambition.—The indignation of an injured people will follow their betrayer to his retreat.<sup>46</sup>

Baltimore ships immediately departed for ports abroad and the commercial life of the town began to revive. Exports for the year 1809 were \$4,638,900, double those of 1808. Baltimore's recovery was slow. While national exports increased over \$14,000,000 for the year 1810 those of Baltimore dropped \$100,000. Nor was there sufficient stimulus to industry, such as had occurred elsewhere, to compensate for the blow to her commercial life.<sup>47</sup> Industrial ventures, such as the Union Manufacturing Company, a cotton mill with a capitalization of one million dollars, were begun in 1808. But during the period only eleven cotton mills were begun in Maryland. Massachusetts founded 54, Pennsylvania 64, New York 26 and Kentucky 15 in the same period.<sup>48</sup> Baltimore might well have agreed with Professor William Jennings when he observed more than a century later that the embargo "stimulated manufactures, injured agriculture, and prostrated commerce."<sup>49</sup>

Even such a brief survey as the present one suggests the conclusion that the pressure of the embargo on commercial interests in Baltimore and other Middle Atlantic ports had a political importance which was far greater than that assigned by many historians. In assessing reaction to the embargo the eye is at once caught by the vituperative rage of New England with the result that the political effect and influence of other commercial areas has been underestimated.<sup>50</sup> It is here suggested that it was the

<sup>46</sup> *Federal Republican*, March 3, 1809.

<sup>47</sup> *American State Papers, Commerce and Navigations*, I, 816.

<sup>48</sup> Jennings, *Embargo*, 173-174; 179.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, 231.

<sup>50</sup> For instance, Professor Jennings, in *The American Embargo*, refers to 39 New England newspapers as against 21 from all other sections (including two from Maryland) in his chapter entitled "Attitude of the United States Toward the Embargo." In the chapter "Growing Opposition to the Embargo Finally Forces Repeal" he uses 52 New England sources versus 23 from all other sections. Yet in 1807 New York alone exported more than all New England combined. The exports of Maryland, Virginia and the District of Columbia together totalled as much as New England. Even Professor Thomas Bailey, in his brief treatment of the subject in *A Diplomatic History of the American People*, cites six New England sources as against two from other sections, although he points out that the "South and West, though probably even harder hit by losing the export market for their agricultural produce, complained the least" (p. 120) Such a criticism of Professor Bailey's book, of course, leaves out of account his excellent use of secondary sources,

ominous note of discontent from the Middle States and the South, less noisome but far more serious to finely tuned political ears, that led to the Republican revolt and the repeal of the embargo on March 4. Events proved that the strain on the party was serious when, in the years that followed, Madison was beset by the Smith faction and the War Hawks, and Maryland and even Baltimore went over to the Federalists.

such as Sears' and Jennings' works and articles like G. R. Taylor, "Agrarian Discontent in the Mississippi Valley preceding the War of 1812," in the *Journal of Political Economy* (XXIX, 1931), to name only a few.



# TULIP HILL, ANNE ARUNDEL COUNTY

By L. MORRIS LEISENRING

THE new colony of Providence on the Severn was established in 1649 by a group of Puritans not happily settled in Virginia. That same year the Act of Toleration was passed by the General Assembly. The liberal Act, and the final reconciliation of the militantly independent new colony with the authoritative proprietary government, led far-seeing members of the Society of Friends to build their homes and establish their meetings in this area of great natural advantages.<sup>1</sup>

Among these, from England in 1649 came Richard Galloway, the great-grandfather of the Samuel Galloway who built Tulip Hill a century later. He took up by patent "Galloway's," a tract of 250 acres back from the shore line,<sup>2</sup> near where West River Meeting was established in 1672 and the Old Quaker Burying Ground is still actively maintained. Through his sons Richard and Samuel the early colonial homesteads of Cedar Park and Sudley came into the Galloway line after the capital of the Province was transferred to Annapolis in 1694 and the settlement of Providence erected into the County of Anne Arundel in 1650.

With the capital of the Province established nearby, gentlemen's estates began to rim the waters of the upper Chesapeake and its then navigable salt-water rivers so that William Eddis, Surveyor of the Customs of Annapolis, could write home to England in 1769 and say "Annapolis is nearly encompassed by the river Severn. . . . The adjacent country presents a variety of beautiful

<sup>1</sup> Gratefully acknowledgment is made for assistance given me in the preparation of this article by Mr. J. Reaney Kelly, who made available his notes and material collected for a number of years bearing on the history of West River, Mr. and Mrs. Lewis R. Andrews, Mrs. Henry H. Flather, Mrs. Eliza H. Crowther, Mr. Edwin B. Davis, Miss Agnes Mayo, and members of the staffs of the Maryland Historical Society and the Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress.

<sup>2</sup> Surveyed December 4, 1662. See Calvert Paper No. 883, p. 19 (Anne Arundel County Rent Roll), Maryland Historical Society.

prospects, agreeably diversified with well settled plantations, lofty woods, and navigable waters.”<sup>3</sup> He found the villas pleasant and beautiful.<sup>4</sup>

The number of Quaker families settling through Anne Arundel and other provincial counties was large, for, freed from the rigors of the Church of England in Virginia and the Puritanism of New England, with the nearby Friends in Pennsylvania, this haven of tolerance was an earnest for spiritual tranquillity and temporal prosperity. Prosperity came to many but tranquillity was not always in the Meetings which strove to shield their members from the less inhibited pursuits of others in the locality.

Tulip Hill is a result of the happy union of two of the most militant of the Anne Arundel Quaker families, the Galloways and the Chews. Samuel Galloway married Anne the daughter of Dr. Samuel Chew of Maidstone about 1744; she was nineteen, and he twenty-four. Of their four surviving children, Mary, born 1746, married Thomas Ringgold, Jr.; John, born 1748, married Sarah Chew and inherited Tulip Hill from his father; Benjamin, born 1752, married Henrietta Chew; Anne, born 1755, married James Cheston.<sup>5</sup>

Samuel had purchased the old Talbot patent of “Poplar Knowle,” 260 acres lying south of Cedar Park with water frontage on West River and Brown’s Creek. Title had passed to him in December, 1755. He and Anne renamed the property “Tulip Hill,” keeping in the new name the tradition of the grove of grand old tulip poplar trees, many still standing with ages up to 300 years.<sup>6</sup>

No date has been recorded for the breaking of ground for the new house. Samuel had recently returned from business in England. Their youngest surviving child, Anne, was born February 14, 1755. Samuel’s journal of April, 1756, credits John Deavour as follows: <sup>7</sup>

<sup>3</sup> William Eddis, *Letters from America* (1792). p. 13.

<sup>4</sup> David Ridgely, *Annals of Annapolis* (1841), p. 145.

<sup>5</sup> L. B. Thomas, *The Thomas Book* (1896), p. 320.

<sup>6</sup> See letter from Joseph Galloway to Samuel Galloway, dated 1755, Galloway-Maxy-Markoe Papers (hereafter called Galloway Papers), Library of Congress, II, No. 8167.

<sup>7</sup> Original journal now in possession of Miss Anne Cheston Murray of Ivy Neck, Anne Arundel County.

By making and laying in my house 124,938 bricks at 20/	124 - 18 - 19
By making a caboose . . . . .	- 10 -
" making Lime Kill & Brick . . . . .	1 - 15 -
" Stone work . . . . .	1 - 18 - 1
" making 18 m Brick at 4/ . . . . .	3 - 16 -

Apparently by that date the project was well underway. A survey of the cubic areas of the great house (the central section only) checks closely indeed with the approximately 143,000 brick ordered. As the foundations of the exterior walls are of quarry stone, from basement floor to grade, the allowance of only one pound, eighteen shillings, one penny, seems grossly inadequate, but this may not be the whole story. Just what the "caboose" was is a question. Dictionaries say "a deck-house or galley on ships" or "a booth, hut, store room." At any rate it cost only ten shillings. Perhaps it was a workmen's hut to store building materials. Samuel was a seafaring merchant who owned many ships, and it would be natural for him to use nautical terms. One can sense the joy and interest of the young owners as this work progressed, but unfortunately Samuel and Ann were not to occupy together the home they had planned. The *Maryland Gazette* of December 23, 1756, carried the following notice: "Annapolis, December 23. Last Week died in Child-Bed, at *West River*, Mrs. Anne Galloway, Consort of Mr. Samuel Galloway, Merchant; a gentlewoman possess'd of every virtuous and amiable Quality."

Samuel did not remarry. He finished the main central section of his house by degrees. He was a keen and prosperous merchant, owner of lands and slaves and of many ships in foreign and coast-wise trade; the *Tulip*, the *Grove*, the *Planter*, the *Swallow* and others.<sup>8</sup> As he seemed to draw away from the Meeting at the cross-roads where his grandmother "Mistress Ann" had been a regular Preacher, he assembled a stable of speedy racers, among them the famous stallion *Selam*, and these were his particular pride and interest. But he built his house with expressed sentiment for Anne and for the tulip trees for which they had renamed it.

It is interesting that Samuel and Anne seem to be the only ones who named their home for the *flower* of this splendid tree that had so impressed the settlers on the middle Atlantic shores. The

<sup>8</sup> There are many references to his ships in the Galloway Papers and the Bartlett Papers, also in the Library of Congress, and there is a list of his ships in Box 1 of the Galloway Papers.



*Tulip Tree* (*Liriodendron Tulipifera*), unknown to the English in Europe, which they called a poplar though not a true poplar,<sup>9</sup> was so striking and unusual to them as it towered with straight trunks in the forests, stood in groves or as a single wide branched sentinel, that they gave its name "Poplar" to many homesteads and locations.<sup>10</sup>

Not only did he use the flower motif in his carvings and decoration, but he framed the floors and trussed the roofs of the central building with the wood timbers of the poplars in the nearby forests, building his tulip trees into his home for structural stability as well as sentiment.

Samuel did not build the wings. The large central section with the usual dependent minor buildings was sufficient for his family and for the entertainment of friends and travellers while he, more merchant and landowner than planter, was often in Annapolis where he conducted his many enterprises.

The house he built, however, was particularly well adapted for extension into the five-part plan that it grew to be—sometimes called "big house, little house, colonnade and kitchen"—suited well the life of the country gentleman of affairs that John, the son and heir, enjoyed. Also, it fitted its site and surroundings. The wings we can fairly credit to John, from surviving documents, fragmentary but convincing.<sup>11</sup> The result was a house of beauty and charm.

Charm is a quality difficult to define but in truth we find it here, for even without the striking beauty of its setting and surroundings, the character of the old house itself has been so felt by many who have written of it that they slip into superlatives in describing it. Actually, Tulip Hill is not so important historically, so impressive a structure, nor so pure in its architectural style as others described in terms less warm and with much more critical analysis.

<sup>9</sup> Robert Beverley in *The History and Present State of Virginia* (London, 1722), p. 123, writes of "the large Tulip-Tree, which we call a Poplar. . . ."

<sup>10</sup> "Poplar Hill Hundred was one of the earliest settlements after St. Mary's; Poplar Hill Creek puts in just west of Mulberry Fields' water-front; and Poplar Hill Church was the second Protestant church building in Maryland." Paul Wilstach, *Potomac Landings* (1921), p. 94. Consider as well Poplar Knowle, Anne Arundel; Poplar Hill in Prince George's; Poplar Hill Mansion, Wicomico; Poplar Grove, Queen Anne's; Poplar Grove, Somerset; Poplar Neck, Cecil; Poplar Spring and Poplar Island, Talbot. There is one such name in each Bay county where this dominating tree gave character and identity to the locality—but only one "Tulip Hill."

<sup>11</sup> Many letters and documents in the Galloway and the Bartlett papers establish this fact to my satisfaction.

Noteworthy here is the informal use of motifs, slight variations from exact symmetry, the unexpected deviations from generally accepted ways of doing things, even the contrast of the crudely laid running bond of the brickwork of the wings with the fine Flemish bond of the great house. These variations may find response in subconscious aversion to regimentation and over-formality, these may be the soft influences affecting those fallen under its spell. And this grows as one becomes an acquaintance of the old house and of the stories of those who built and lived in it.

If seen first from the river, on its hill above the broad meadows, one is impressed by it as a place of great importance and is tempted to mount at once the steep bank where were the old dock and steps leading to the narrow tree-lined lane and to continue for almost a mile, straight up to the foot of the terraced gardens. This was once a frequent approach for visitors from across the bay and other shore-line points. Some supplies were brought in this way, though heavier loadings came and went from West River landing. It is still possible to view Tulip Hill from the river for, although the fishing industry has pressed close to this old approach, houses have been built facing it on the river's east shore. The river is a welcome harbor for small boats when the bay is stormy.

By the time the first unit of Tulip Hill was built, approach by water was not necessary for the Assembly had placed on the counties the responsibility of building passable roads or "Highwaies." In 1695 the regular post route and road was established from Port Tobacco on the Potomac through Upper Marlborough and by the ferry at London Towne on South River to Annapolis and on to Philadelphia. Then with the road from Annapolis to Prince Frederick and the Muddy Creek Road nearer the shore, down to Herring Bay, the visitor would find his entrance much as he will today.

On this road at the crossroad leading to the river, is and has been since 1672 the Quaker Burying Ground where lie the bones of those generations of Friends who brooked no stone but "lie unmarked" in this hallowed spot. The frame meeting house is long since gone, its location indicated by an iron chain and by the markers and monuments of later generations. Here was the West River Meeting, one of the two most potent in Maryland.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>12</sup> The other was at Tred Avon across the Bay where the meeting house still stands.

No record has been found to show that Anne and Samuel were members at West River though their children may have belonged to St. James Parish, Anne Arundel.<sup>13</sup> Samuel and Anne now lie with many of their relatives and Tulip Hill's later owners in the family burial plot not far from the house itself.

The approach to Tulip Hill is through a gateway on this old road—now a highway—up a slight grade through trees and shrubbery on a curving driveway, some 300 yards, till the house appears over a broad stretch of turf, framed in poplars, firs and beechwood. Here at the end of a level plateau it is placed where the ground falls away sharply on three sides permitting grade entrances at the level of the basement floor of the end pavillions and a full basement under the entire 135 feet of its longest dimensions. On the river front a broad parterre of turf at the same level as at the entrance extends the full length of the building before the first of the four "Falles"<sup>14</sup> with their intermediate terraces of turf or flowers leads down to the meadowland some fifty feet below. The plateau lies pointing roughly to the southeast toward the river and so the house was oriented, following the natural grades of the land and with a view over West River to the eastern shores of the Chesapeake.

The original great or central section, 52 by 42 feet, rises two full stories with high unfinished attic space under its hipped roof, "double hipped" or "hip over hip," as sometimes called. In the wings the two end pavillions, each 20 by 24 feet, have two stories of lower height than the main section. The two connecting curtains, each 19 by 19 feet, are of one story with very low attic space. As in all true five-part houses access from the wings to the main building is at the first floor only, here down one step to the wings. Access to the left wing was also at the basement level, out to the barn and stable areas, but the basement of the right wing was not opened into the older main section, indicating that this wing which led at the basement level and by outside steps from the first floor level, to the domestic dependencies, was the place for house servants and not given too free access to all parts of the building.

<sup>13</sup> Mr. Kelly has found no record of Samuel or Anne in a search of the records of the West River Meeting at Homewood and Stoney Run.

<sup>14</sup> The term "Falls" for terraces appears to be restricted to Maryland and Virginia.



This five-part plan, suited so well to the life of the gentleman planter and man of affairs with family and with obligations, was the pattern for many of the mansions of the surrounding countryside, extending even into the streets of Annapolis and the outskirts of Baltimore. With the "big house" for family and entertaining, one wing for service and the other for offices and the constant inflow of passing travelling friends, this plan met the life pattern of the times, not practicable in earlier simpler days.

At Tulip Hill the plan of the right wing shows definitely its use for service. The left wing with its inconspicuous corner door and steps direct from the entrance front to the large first floor office room and access from the plantation area by stairway through the basement, indicates the use of this wing for management and affairs, while its pleasant access from the drawing rooms and from the garden terrace made it available for the lodging of guests in its upper room.

But before the construction of the wings, Samuel Galloway's original central building had no provision for kitchen or other services inside its walls and the then general use of nearby dependent buildings, some brick, some frame, as indicated here, was necessary. All of these have entirely disappeared except the old smoke house and the foundations of the old ice house partly supporting a garage. An interesting reference to an evident dependent kitchen building is found in a loose document in the Bartlett Papers now in the Library of Congress, a bill and an apparent receipt from one Will Lucas to Samuel Galloway:

Jany, 20, 1758.

To mending the Chamber Chimney in the Citching  
to laying the Citching floor  
to mending of three arches in the grate house  
to laying the four harths in the grate house  
to building up the steps of the grate house  
to building up the other steps  
to making a partition wall in the seller  
to burning of seven thousand Bricks that was made before  
Acct of Receipt 5-19-6

Will Lucas.

Among these same papers the following document that seems to show the slow progress in the completion of the "grate" house:

Saml Galloway Dr

To Framing and Shingling your house

Trough and Upper Flore, a 10/ per squ[ar]es  
100

being 91 50

£45.15.10

To the puting together the two

Lower Flore's,

7.14. 0

To bal[ance]s due in the Ship Yard

8. 9.10

To 41 days work a 5/

10. 5. 9

To 49 days my boy a 40/ per month

3. 0. 0

To plank

0.11. 0

To work

1. 0. 0

---

£76.14.10

Errors Excep[ted] Nov. 21st 1758

James Trotter

No authentic data exist as to the origin of the design for the house as first planned, nor of its architect and its architectural ancestry. It bears no relation to Cedar Park, the Galloway house nearby, so full of the traditions of Old England, nor to Sudley, another neighbor; nor to Herrington on Herring Bay, nor to Maidstone, Anne's home, both homesteads of the Chews in Calvert County. These were the simplest type of low-wall high-roof early Maryland plantation houses. Tulip Hill with its two stories of clear wall heights, its hipped roof with massive towering interior grouped chimneys was one of the first of its type in this neighborhood.<sup>15</sup>

As one considers the contacts of Samuel and Anne with the Chews and their Quaker friends and relatives in Philadelphia, Germantown, and vicinity one is impelled to associate the plan and mass of the main building of Tulip Hill, 52 by 42 feet, with two of the earlier homes of prominent members of the Society of Friends in the Philadelphia area, Hope Lodge built in 1723 at White Marsh Village and Stenton in Germantown, 52 by 40 feet built in 1728. Both of these have interior grouped chimneys, high hipped roofs with flatter decks, doors from several of the first floor rooms direct to the exterior for access to dependencies, though

<sup>15</sup> Its early Georgian character is antedated in Maryland only by Poplar Grove (His Lordship's Kindness) in Prince George's County, a five-part house with no similarity as to plan of the central unit, though it has broken roof lines and centrally grouped chimneys unlike the typical four on the end walls carried up above the roof ridge.

here these are in the rear suiting the location, while Tulip Hill has no choice but to extend them to each end. Most significant of all is the service stair at Stenton where it winds from first floor to attic in the space formed by the depth of the chimneys between front and rear rooms. Stenton and Tulip Hill seem to be the only houses of their time and dimensions in which this is found. The small detail of a watertable at the first floor on the main front only is a feature of all three. Their austerity in design of detail gives some point to the thought that Tulip Hill may have been similarly lacking in some of its present lighter elements until the Quaker influence had wavered there. All have finely panelled rooms and in one of these at Hope Lodge an elliptical fireplace arch has the fine Dutch tiles cut to fit without reference to their decorated faces just as has one fireplace at Tulip Hill.

More famous historically, and much more sophisticated and elaborate than any of these, yet so similar in plan and general mass as to make one of the four, is Cliveden, 54 by 44 feet built in 1763 by Benjamin Chew, brother of Anne of Tulip Hill <sup>16</sup> In each of these four houses, central fireplace chimneys are grouped and extend through their roofs in dominating masses of brickwork.

As we think of Philadelphia we may remember that Samuel Galloway spent many days of his later years with his relatives there and particularly while exciting things were happening at Annapolis in the fall of 1774. His son John wrote him frequently of business, family and current affairs, his letters having the salutation "Hon Sir" and signed "Yr. Obt. Son." One extremely interesting paper, which bears no address nor signature, but with the same salutation, "Hon Sir," written by the same hand, gives a full and vivid account of the burning at Annapolis of the *Peggy Stewart*. This letter, dated Tulip Hill, Thursday morning, Oct. 20th., 1774, was evidently another of his letters to his Father during the fall months of that year.<sup>17</sup>

It was in these fall months of 1774 that the Continental Congress met and Samuel's cousin Joseph Galloway, Quaker, Speaker of the Pennsylvania Assembly, showed such conservatism that he

<sup>16</sup> Cliveden is the only dwelling house that has the distinction of being the central point of a battle of the Revolution, the Battle of Germantown.

<sup>17</sup> Original owned by Miss Anne Cheston Murray of Ivy Neck; photostat in the Hall of Records, Annapolis.

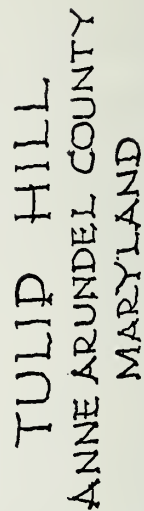


was ultimately branded "Tory" and went to England where he died.

At Tulip Hill the entrance porch is much later than the main building, perhaps of the same date as the end wings, particularly as the Portland stone steps at the river entrance to the left wing have apparently been moved there from their original position at the main entrance where the old doors are still the duplicates of those at the main entrance from the river side though the transom here has been added with the later porch. The porch is somewhat crowded between windows but is fine in its proportions and the chaste Georgian details of the pediment and entablature. The rather crude moulding details of the capitals and bases of the columns, which are reminiscent of years as late as the 1840's, are difficult to explain. The brick wall between the end pilasters of the porch has been plastered and painted to the advantage of the whole. The benign and suavely carved Cupid who beams at you from the pediment is another evidence of the sentiment for their house shown by the builders of Tulip Hill.

Today, as one mounts the porch steps, his gaze is at once delighted by the view directly through glazed doors to the garden beyond and the river in the distance. The old solid panel doors are still there but not closed and heavily barred as was once safest practice. Inside, then as now, one's immediate attention would focus on the great hall, off center to provide ample gathering space for arrivals. The stairway mounts immediately to its landing and with a return to the second floor, with panelled walls and soffits, widths of treads and height of risers most carefully designed for comfortable use and fine proportion. The step ends are masterfully deep carved, with unusually fine walnut rail and sturdy balusters, three to each tread, carved with vigor and delicacy, tiny tulip flowers filling the interstices of the conventional motif at the center point of their height.

Visitors are intrigued by the large shell crowned cabinet set in the corner space of the offset between the entrance and stair halls, so suited for display of household treasures. With shelf and cabinet beneath, this extends the full height of the hallway and is one of the most frequently noted of the house's interests. But the most unusual of the architectural features is the double pendent arch spanning the stairway, forming a most satisfactory division of the stair from the entrance hall. There is no such



GREAT HOUSE - CIRCA 1756 - WINGS CIRCA 1790 -

L.M.L. DEL.

feature in any other building of this entire neighborhood. There is a double pendent arch of flattened ellipses over the stairway of Gunston Hall in Virginia with a carved pineapple drop at the meeting but, though more elaborately ornamented, it is not the equal in beauty of form to the full half arches at Tulip Hill with the meeting point used for a shell-like carving forming a crown for a hanging lighting fixture. This similarity in use of an unusual motif raises a question of architectural authorship that may best be discussed after better acquaintance with the house.

The entrance hall is not panelled, nor is the small ante- or reception room opening to the right. There is access from this room into the dining room through a small passage the width of the double chimney's depth and originally through an exterior door that once led to dependencies but now leads to the services in the right wing. From this passage rises a winding stair of unbelievably limited space and headroom allowance, fitted to the chimney depth, as that at Stenton. Here it winds around a one piece poplar center post all of thirty feet from the first floor to above the floor of the attic, giving servants access to the upper floors, a convenience that many four-room house plans of similar importance were without.

The dining room in the southwest corner of the main building is reached more directly from the stair hall, under the stair landing. This room, about sixteen feet square has two large windows toward the river and badly needed one toward the southwest but here an apparently original door led direct to the exterior. The only direct service from the basement to the first floor was under the main stair and its landing just at the door to the dining room.

The two finely proportioned and fully panelled drawing rooms to the left of the entrance and stair halls, each about twenty by seventeen feet, were joined by small doors in the panelling near the exterior wall and in the space beyond their chimneys another door originally led to the exterior. A small shell top cabinet fits the end of this narrow passage, which now gives access to the office or left wing. The room toward the river has three windows, two at the river front and one at the side. The room toward the entrance has but two with none at the side. If there had been it would have been covered by the present wing. Thus by the window and doors at each side of the original plan, in spite of first convictions to the contrary, the thought persists that the possibility



of future wings may have influenced the construction of the "Grate" house, as the central section was so often called.

The rooms on the second floor practically repeat in size those directly below and for the most part their window spacing. As in most such plans, the partitions that separate the main halls from the rooms carry up from basement to attic as solid masonry though they serve only partially to support the main roof trusses that span from the walls of the two main fronts. The main stairway ends at the second floor in a broad hall adequate for the armoires and clothes presses usual to the time. But as so often happened as families grew, a small room was formed at the end, from its materials almost an original, for the partition was of wide floor boards set on end and both sides plastered on split laths.

The two larger chambers are fully panelled much like those below them. They seem to have had a rather intimate arrangement of combined closet and passage, formed also by the depth of the massive chimneys. The small window looking northeast from a closet-passage has scratched on one original glass pane the names of a few of the old family and friends. Not too distinctly these names appear to be A. Ringold, & S. Tilgham, M. Carroll 1772, A. Galloway, and P. Norris (?).

The fact that things happened gradually in its building is rather definitely shown, for though the panelling seems to form so much a part of the partitioning in some of the rooms, it must have been added later in at least one room for under it in the large southeast chamber, there has been found a beautiful English block wall paper in Quaker grays, mauves and browns, and best of all, the tulip flower prominent in its pattern. No paper has appeared elsewhere under panelling or on painted or lime-washed walls. It would seem that this room was considered of special importance.

All of the first and second floor rooms of the main house had deep full-throated fireplaces lined with very rough brickwork on back and sides covered with lime plaster thick enough to be troweled to deflect heat to the room but carefully formed and splayed to direct smoke upward. After two hundred years use as the only heating elements in the building, these plastered recesses were basically sound. The fireplaces were faced with ancient Dutch tiles or with marble, and were framed with wood panelling.



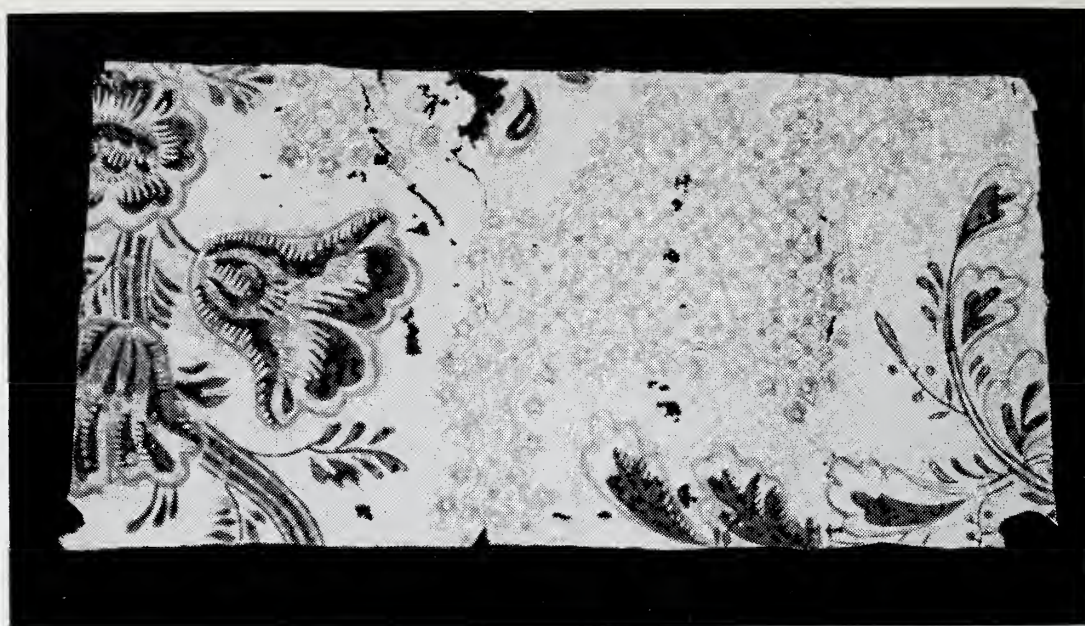


THE RIVER FRONT AND FIRST "FALL"



GARDEN AND RIVER





TULIP MOTIF IN A SECTION OF EIGHTEENTH CENTURY WALLPAPER



TULIP MOTIF SHOWN IN PROFILE IN BALUSTERS OF STAIRS





DETAIL OF ENTRANCE FRONT





ENTRANCE, RIVER FRONT



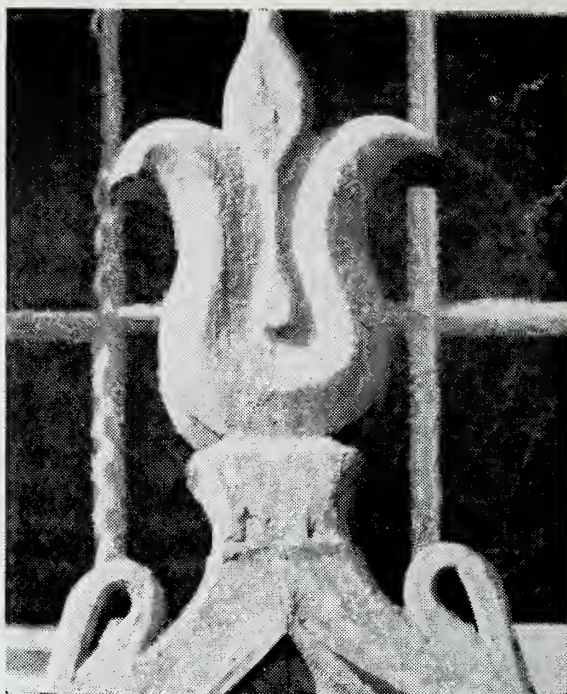


THE "GREAT HALL" LOOKING TOWARD GARDEN DOOR





The Dove, a Rose and the Initial  
("G" or "C"?)



The Tulip of the Canopy



One of the Matched Wood Blocks



The Cupid

DETAILS OF WOOD CARVINGS, TULIP HILL



The windows in all the rooms have deep panelled jambs and soffits, architraves to the floor, the jambs splayed, and with window seats below the sills, a detail typical in this part of Maryland. The sash are all the Dutch-English "guillotine" type, twelve-lights, six in the upper, six in the lower, each glass 12 by 10 inches, with muntins rather slender for the period, the top sash fixed, the lower with no mechanical means to operate or hold in place.

Doors to the rooms are wide and low, 11¼ inches thick, with the usual six panels, wide lock-rail, large rim locks, H or H-L flush hinges, jambs and heads panelled to line with door panels, wide and heavy moulded architraves. All doors, panelling, floorboards and stair treads were of heart long leaf pine, once to be had in the neighborhood but for the most part brought from the south. The floor boards were of varying but not extreme widths. Those of the second and attic floors, where the poplar joists were very uneven as to their hewn depths but set to give a true line for the ceilings, were shimmed or draped considerably to gain an even surfaced floor.

The detail and finish of the wings was very similar to the main section, though at a reduced scale. A feature of the connecting "curtains" was the flush panel inside shutters to the doors and all windows with long throw-over iron strap bolts the width of the openings, though these were not used in the main section nor in the pavillions.

Attics may be interesting and this one, over the original center section, is. Reached by the single steep winding stair, pierced by the great bulk of the two chimney groups, it is a study in huge hewn and framed timbers, each truss member numbered with old Roman numerals, as laid out flat before erection and secured in place with hardwood pins of unusual length. It is well lighted with two A-roofed eight paned dormers on the two sides, the circular lead came window in the front pediment, and two four paned windows toward the river, roofed by the pitch of the upper roof slope, unusual for this period but in the original framing pattern, as is also the front pediment. None of the original framing timbers have been cut for these, which seems to show them as part of a complete design.

A small lookout deck has been cleverly cut back into the roof slope on the river front by a comparatively recent former owner, with steps from the attic floor, and the "captain's" or "widow's"

walk is a pleasant spot from which to have a heightened view over the river and the bay to the distant Eastern Shore.

It is said servants were quartered in this attic but the only partition is of wide rough boarding with a battened door secured by an enormous rim lock with wood casings in which are inserted six false key-holes and only one that will open to the presumably authorized person. Nothing has remained in this strong room but some minor artifacts, discarded hardware, an implement or two, but in an old house every such memento may be revealing.

As to the exterior, there is no question as to the main front of the house and the fact that the general approach was from the highway. The central pediment is evidence of this, and the importance given to it with its very unusual decorative treatment, the large lunette, its boldly carved and still nearly perfect wood key block and two panel inserts, beautifully placed, with their emblems of the crown, the dove, and the rose (the tulip is lacking here) but most significant, the initial in the key which it seems might be, most sentimentally, a "C" for Anne's name "Chew" or it might be a "G" for their name "Galloway." The illustrations will let the reader make the choice. The cornice of both center and wings has modillions added on this front only though the projections are the same on the sides. This evidently was an addition to emphasize the façade's importance.

The river front is the most charming, as seen from the river or from the terraces that form the gradients between the "falles," the flower gardens, or the bowling green, or from the upper parterre itself where the much publicized and discussed canopy dominates the entire façade with its tulip motif carried up the steep pitched gable to the crowning finial. With its sturdy, beautifully formed and carved brackets and deep cupped canopy between it is a little masterpiece of design worth wondering about as to origin and author.<sup>18</sup>

As to its progenitors one must think again of both Anne's and Samuel's Philadelphia contacts, remembering also that her kinsman, Samuel Chew, was in 1741 the Chief Justice of the lower counties of Pennsylvania (now Delaware), where the "German-

<sup>18</sup> There is some local opinion that the canopy was originally at the driveway entrance, before the present entrance porch was built. This is an interesting possibility, but there is no convincing evidence, either documentary or structural, that it has ever been moved or that it has not always been a part of the effective river façade.



town pent" was used over many doorways. Heavy projecting brackets, but no gable, were on Penn's House itself in Letitia Street. Many gables with and without brackets are still seen, as on the old stone house of another Quaker, Isaac Pitts, the iron founder at Valley Forge. Hope Lodge had one of slight projection. But it took a better man than had done any of these to do the canopy at Tulip Hill.

One hesitates to bring the overworked William Buckland into the architectural picture of Tulip Hill, for not one definite connection between him and the Galloways is to be found, but circumstantial evidence is sometimes convincing.

Samuel Galloway was in London on business in 1755 when his brother Joseph wrote him that it might be possible to purchase the Talbot's "Poplar Knowle." Samuel had been looking for property on which to build a home suitable to his station and the deal was made that year. Thomson Mason, brother of George Mason, was in London at that same time and secured by indenture William Buckland, skilled craftsman, to complete Gunston Hall, Virginia, just beginning construction.<sup>19</sup> Two prominent American merchants in London at the same time probably met, particularly when both were interested in building. Buckland, Mason, and Galloway sailed for America at approximately the same time, the fall of 1755.

Buckland came first to Annapolis about 1770 as architect for the Hammond-Harwood house but before that had done other work and had set up a shop of carvers in Virginia. Several documents of Samuel Galloway in the Bartlett Papers refer to securing the day's service of a "carver."

Consider the two double pendent arches, one at Gunston by Buckland, then the one at Tulip Hill. Buckland delighted in the free carving of flowers, particularly the rose. See the carved swags with roses and other flowers over the entrance doorway of his Hammond-Harwood House, but particularly note the completely naturalized and deeply carved petals of the rose he placed at the center of the otherwise severely classic Ionic capitals of the doorway columns. Then see the beautifully carved roses in the key and

<sup>19</sup> See R. R. Beirne, "William Buckland, Architect of Virginia and Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XLI (September, 1946), 199-218, and Beirne and Bevan, *The Hammond-Harwood House and Its Owners* (1941), pp. 19-23, for information about Buckland.

panels of the unconventionally treated pediment of the Tulip Hill façade.<sup>20</sup>

Though the "Grate" house does not seem to have been completely under roof until 1758, or at least paid for by that time, this letter from Annapolis to Tulip Hill seems to indicate early occupancy thereafter and also gives a pleasant picture of the times:<sup>21</sup>

Annapolis, Thurs. the 24 April 1759

Sir—It having been intimated that twould be more agreeable to many of the Ladies in Town to have a Ball To Morrow Avening than to go to a Play & order having been thereupon given for One—I am desired to beg the favour of You to present the Subscribers Compliments to the Ladies that are with You & intreat them to favour us with their Company if You can previal with them to oblige Us. Be pleased to signify to me at what time they will be at the Ferry & the Governor's Chariot shall attend in this Side So. River to receive & bring them to Annapolis Be so kind also as to advise Your Brother of what is intended & say that we hope to have the pleasure of seeing him here to Morrow Evening as well as Yourself.

J. Ridout.

To Samuel Galloway, Esqr.

In his Absence To Mr. Joseph Galloway

Galloway contacts with their neighbors were at times dramatic. About the year 1769 Mr. Bennet Allen, politically appointed clergyman to St. James Parish, being of unsavory reputation, appointed to the Parish by the last Lord Proprietary, himself of none too good repute, was called to account by Mr. Sam Chew, Vestryman. Mr. Allen challenged Mr. Chew to a duel to be fought in "Mr. Sam Galloway's fields."<sup>22</sup> Mr. Chew appeared as per appointment; Mr. Allen did not. No subsequent results are chronicled.

Before affairs of state had borne too heavily, Mr. Washington, then Colonel of Militia, planter from Mount Vernon, Virginia, was often at Annapolis, on business or regularly at the Annapolis races each September when he enjoyed the play and the season's Ball. For a time in 1771 and 1772 to keep an eye on his stepson John Parke Custis then a lad who had been put to school there

<sup>20</sup> Samuel Galloway died in 1785, eleven years after Buckland's death. It seems then that the architectural refinements of the original center section were made for Samuel before his own death.

<sup>21</sup> Galloway Papers.

<sup>22</sup> Elizabeth H. Murray, *One Hundred Years Ago* (1895), pp. 33-35.

with the Reverend Jonathan Boucher. This mentor as well as Mr. Washington was at pains to restrain the young man's interests in things other than his studies, his "propensity to the Sex," and to attentions paid to a daughter of Samuel Galloway of Tulip Hill at much too tender an age to think of matrimony.<sup>23</sup> Age must have been the barrier for the families were friendly and the Washington diaries note both business and social contracts.

Mr. Galloway sold him imported wines and entertained him as he travelled to or from the State Capital, as witness the diary of September 23, 1771, "Dined at Mr. Sam Gallaway's [dinner was in the late afternoon] and lodged with Mr. Boucher in Annapolis."<sup>24</sup> And of September 30, on the way home, "Dind and Suppd with Mr. Saml. Gallaway."<sup>25</sup> These stops with the Galloways were of course at Tulip Hill. To sup would mean an evening meal, seemingly too late to go farther that night, but none of his diaries record that he "slept here." Usually he rode on to his friends, the Digges at Melwood, beyond Marlborough and fifteen or eighteen miles nearer home.

Tulip Hill was one of the hospitable stopping places as Washington later travelled on more serious business to Philadelphia.

Then there is the dramatic story of the discovery in 1948 of a letter written to Samuel Galloway by George Washington in a bundle thrown into an alley in Washington, D. C., after a fire in an old stable. Fortunately, Mr. DeWelden, the sculptor in the studio next door, noticed early dated papers and saved them from rummaging children. The studio and the stable are owned by Mrs. Paul Wayland Bartlett. Mr. John Beverley Riggs, then an assistant in the Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress worked feverishly through a rainy New Year's Day salvaging as many of the papers as possible. Mrs. Bartlett, who had stored them for many years, gave them to the Library. Here is the text of one letter of great interest:<sup>26</sup>

To Samuel Galloway, Esqr.  
at Tulip Hill:

Dear Sir,

By Mr. Custis I send you Nine pounds Maryl'd Curry. for the last Box of

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<sup>23</sup> Jonathan Boucher to George Washington, December 18, 1770, Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

<sup>24</sup> John C. Fitzpatrick (ed.), *The Diaries of George Washington* (4 vols., 1925), II, 34.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 35.

<sup>26</sup> Bartlett Papers.



Claret you were obliging enough to get for me—I am not sure that this is the exact sum due but have desired Jack to pay the difficiency if any there be. I have not yet got the Claret, but as it is in the care of Mr. Barnes of Port Tobacco I shall fetch it from thence by land. If a cargo of this kind of Wine should arrive in the course of the Summer and a favorable opportunity offers to this River, I should be much obliged to you for a Box of it; the cost of which and the freight round shall be paid upon delivery. I am with great esteem

Dr. Sir

Yr. Most Obed't Serv't,  
G. Washington.

The furnishing of the new house was no small matter. Among other bills, there appears one to Samuel's agents in London: <sup>27</sup>

Mr. Thos. Philpot, London, 22 April, 1763. Bought of William Gomm & Sons & Company. In Clerkenwell Close, who make & sell all sorts of Chairs, Tables, Glasses, Cabinetwork and Upholstery Goods, Wholesale & Retail.

S. G. 12 Mahy. Chairs, Lether D. stuffed in the best manners & covered with the best Black Spanish Leather with brass nails.

2 Aarm chairs to match Packing Do. in matted percells L/ 21 – 16 – 6.

Samuel Galloway died in 1785. In the Hall of Records at Annapolis is the inventory of the Appraisers of his estate, dated February 4, 1786, which meticulously accounts for the value of some four hundred itemized listings of furniture and every conceivable household item, which would have been needed for the several large houses and other properties he owned.<sup>28</sup> The items range from fine sets of furniture to "1 Pr. of pistoles, 1 Parcel Books, 37 Doz. Shirt Buttons, 9450 20penny Nails, 1870 10-penny Nails, 12 Glazed Prints, [and] 80 Bus. Turnips." Then there are listed;

Amt. of Sundries at the Ridge plantation

Do Do at the Neck

Do Do at the Ship Yard

To Schooner (swallow) with Tackling Etc.

To a small Boat

To And old Scough

Tobacco at the Ridge, the Neck and Tulip Hill

Amt of Sundres at Tulip Hill

Do of Do at Tulip Hill plantation

Cash found in the house.

A total of £5052 – 5 – 11, not including real estate, apparently no

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*      <sup>28</sup> Inventory, Peas Papers, Box 9, f. 4-7, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

slaves nor livestock, unless these are included in the rather liberal amounts allowed in the *sundries* at the plantations.

John Galloway, son of Samuel, inherited Tulip Hill and "The marsh lands." During his Father's declining years he had conducted many of his affairs and was one of the Executors of his Will. He had married Sarah, daughter of Benjamin Chew. They had one surviving daughter Mary.

John was a builder and from his ledger we gather that he had projected and begun to assemble materials for the building of the wings by approximately 1787. He had much building to do for the plantation and some of the orders for materials for these structures tend to become confused with those for the wings. He left no available data with which we can definitely fix the date of the wings nor of the addition at the entrance front of the present porch with its carved cupid.

Tax records are not always accurate as to dimensions, and it may be that this quotation from the Maryland Tax Assessment Records of 1798 may refer to the main house and wings though the dimensions are not properly given. Those of the main building are exact, those of the wings are not: <sup>29</sup>

Galloway John	2 storeys.	52 by 42	of Brick.
	1 storey	30. 20.	
		30. 20.	
	1 storey	14. 14.	Wood
		16. 12.	

A dwelling house and two "Out Houses" are listed. The column headed "Porches" is blank opposite the entry for Tulip Hill.

Two plans for the proposed wings have been found, neither dated. One, carefully drawn, was found torn in a wash house now removed.<sup>30</sup> This plan does not show the wings as they were built. It provided a large fireplace with bake oven for the kitchen and a force-pump and sink for a possible cistern that was actually built later and is shown on the plan as illustrated. The other is a fragment from John's ledger and is nearly as the right wing and kitchen were built.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>29</sup> Maryland Historical Society.

<sup>30</sup> Now in the possession of Miss Murray.

<sup>31</sup> John Galloway's Ledger (1800-1813), between pp. 103-104, Galloway Papers.



John died in 1810 leaving Tulip Hill to his daughter Mary who had married Virgil Maxcy. They had two daughters, Mary who married Francis Markoe and Sarah who married Col. George W. Hughes. Their daughter Anne S. Hughes was the last owner by descent. The property was sold in 1877 to Henry M. Murray, whose wife was a relative through the Galloway line. Later approximately 55 acres of it were sold and resold to several owners.

In 1918 when Mr. and Mrs. Henry H. Flather of Washington, D. C., bought Tulip Hill, the property had not been fully used nor kept up for several years. It is to them that we can look with grateful hearts for what they did in saving the old house for us and for their splendid restoration of the gardens and terraces, their preservations and plantings. They used the house as a summer residence only. After the death of Mr. Flather, it was finally sold by Mrs. Flather in 1946.

If one can reverse a simile and say that a house may find a haven as well as *be* a haven, then that may be said of Tulip Hill for finding its present owners and of them in finding it. To make a year round home, Mr. and Mrs. Lewis R. Andrews have perforce required more heat than the old fireplaces gave, more equipment of pantry and kitchen, more creature comforts here and there. But with exquisite taste in furnishings and care and extension of every vital part, one can feel sure that the old place will be happy as it nears its two hundredth birthday.

## “THOMAS COPLEY, GENTLEMAN”

By EDWIN W. BEITZELL

IT is well known that the early Roman Catholic clergymen in Maryland used one or more aliases. One unexpected result is that at times an individual appears in the records as leading a double life. The *Archives of Maryland* and allied documents treat of him under his secular name; the Jesuit records contain information under an entirely different name. The purpose of this paper is to study the career of Thomas Copley, Gentleman, alias Philip Fisher, S. J. In the secular records of the Maryland colony Mr. Thomas Copley appears quite frequently. We shall in our first part give a brief summary of his activities in early Maryland. In a second part we shall study the same individual under the name of Philip Fisher which is generally found in the Jesuit sources, but to avoid confusion we shall speak of him only as Copley. Much was written of Thomas Copley and Father Fisher before it became known in historical circles in America in 1885 that they were one and the same man.<sup>1</sup>

Thomas Copley, Gentleman, first appears in the *Archives of Maryland* on January 25, 1638, when he together with Fathers Andrew White and John Altham of the Society of Jesus were summoned to attend the General Assembly.<sup>2</sup> He had arrived in the Province on August 8, 1637.<sup>3</sup> The first intimation that a chapel had been built at St. Mary's City occurs after the arrival of Father Copley. "An Act For Military Discipline," passed by the Assembly in the February-March 1638/1639 session, provided

<sup>1</sup> Reverend Wm. P. Treacy, *Old Catholic Maryland and Its Early Jesuit Missionaries* (1889), p. 49-55. For reasons for use of aliases by Jesuits see B. U. Campbell, "Early Christian Missions Among the Indians of Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, I (1906), 297 ff. Briefly stated, prudence was exercised to avoid any public or apparent disregard of the penal laws then in effect in England against Catholic priests, and Jesuits in particular.

<sup>2</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, I, 2.

<sup>3</sup> Louis Dow Scisco, "Land Notes, 1634-1655," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, V (1910), 166.



that upon any alarm the "house houlders within St. Maries hundred Shall send there men *as afore* to the *Chappell Yard* neere the fort. . . ." <sup>4</sup> In addition to his spiritual duties as Superior of the Mission <sup>5</sup> and pastor at St. Mary's City, Copley had the responsibility for the "temporalities" and had to provide for the physical needs of the priests and the mission. That he was prepared to engage in trade to help support the mission is evidenced by the goods shipped in 1637 by his agent, Robert Clerke (Clarke), which included cloth, axes, hatchets, knives and hoes.<sup>6</sup> In 1638 Copley, through his agent, Cyprian Thoroughgood, was engaged in the beaver trade with the Indians.<sup>7</sup>

Many other business transactions are recorded in the *Archives*, generally through his attorney or agent, although there are a few instances where it would seem that Copley personally appeared in Court. In 1638, through his attorney, he sued John Norton for failure to deliver "1000 foote of sawen boards," but the proposed use of the lumber is not disclosed.<sup>8</sup> The estate of Jerome Hawley was indebted to him to the extent of 189 pounds sterling which was collected.<sup>9</sup> On August 26, 1638, Father Copley personally appeared in Court and revoked his power of attorney to one Robert Percy. We shall see below that he apparently had good reason for this step.<sup>10</sup> Sundry debts were collected, including one from the estate of Captain Robert Wintour.<sup>11</sup> It is of interest to note that a former servant of Father Copley, Mathias de Sousa, a Mulatto, attended the Assembly of March 1641/1642.<sup>12</sup>

On July 27, 1641, Father Copley, in order to save the Jesuit lands at St. Inigoes (which had been purchased from Mr. Gerard at a "deere raite")<sup>13</sup> from confiscation by Lord Baltimore, trans-

<sup>4</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, I, 78. The italics are mine.

<sup>5</sup> Reverend Thomas Hughes, S. J., *The History of The Society of Jesus In North America* (1907-1917), Text I, 370.

<sup>6</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, III, 63.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 34.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 39.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 42, 59, 101.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 42, 415.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 67, 88.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 120; Hester Dorsey Richardson, *Side-Lights On Maryland History* (1913), I, 1-12. Whether de Sousa was transported directly by the Jesuit Fathers or became one of their indentured servants by assignment is uncertain. Apparently he had served the time of his indenture or had been freed, for only freeman could attend the Assembly. De Sousa subsequently lost his freedom to John Lawger for debt. See Hughes, *op. cit.*, Text I, 281; *Archives of Maryland*, IV, 138, 155-156.

<sup>13</sup> Maryland Historical Society, "The Calvert Papers," Fund Publication No.

ferred the plantation by means of a personal trust to Cuthbert Fenwick, after securing confirmation of the title from Governor Leonard Calvert.<sup>14</sup> While Lord Baltimore permitted the transfer to stand he severely reprimanded his brother, the Governor, for his action.<sup>15</sup> In a similar transaction in 1649, Father Copley transferred St. Thomas Manor, which was granted a Court Leet and Court Baron to Thomas Matthews and Ralph Crouch under a personal trust. The Jesuits under the usual " Conditions of Plantation " were entitled to some 28,000 acres of land. It would appear that they obtained only about 4,000 acres (St. Thomas Manor) under the " Conditions " since their other lands (about 5,000 acres) were purchased.<sup>16</sup> Father Copley had considerable trouble in keeping his boats out of the hands of unauthorized persons and two such incidents are recorded.<sup>17</sup> In 1643 he rented the Chapel-House in St. Mary's City to Lord Baltimore for the use of Father Gilmett, a secular priest,<sup>18</sup> and was able to take care of the nearby Indians and the outlying white settlements, such as Newtown.<sup>19</sup>

Apparently the Chapel-House was sold to Lord Baltimore in 1642 with Thomas Cornwaleys acting as Father Copley's agent. The transaction, however, was not completed at that time because Lord Baltimore protested the 200 pounds sterling bill of exchange which represented the sale price. This caused Thomas Cornwaleys, represented by his attorney Cuthbert Fenwick, to sue Governor Calvert, John Lewger, and John Langford, who had handled the transaction for Lord Baltimore, for 100,000 pounds of tobacco in damages. Giles Brent, the Judge in the case, notified Governor Calvert he would have to pay or show cause why he should not

28, p. 164. It appears probable that the Mr. Gerard mentioned was Richard Gerard, one of the original colonists, who returned to England after a stay of about a year. See William Playfair, *British Family Antiquity* (London, 1811), VI, Appendix. His brother, Thomas, became prominent in Maryland provincial affairs. See author's " Thomas Gerard and His Sons-in-Law," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XLVI (1951), 189.

<sup>14</sup> Louis Dow Scisco, " Land Notes, 1634-1655," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, VI (1911), 202; *Archives of Maryland*, XXXIII, 314; Hughes, *op. cit.*, Text I, 484.

<sup>15</sup> " The Calvert Papers," *op. cit.*, p. 211.

<sup>16</sup> Louis Dow Scisco, " Land Notes, 1634-1655," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, VII (1912), 386; *Archives of Maryland*, III, 258; Hughes, *op. cit.*, Documents I, 213-234.

<sup>17</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, IV, 165, 254.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 143.

<sup>19</sup> Hughes, *op. cit.*, Text I, 555; Treacy, *op. cit.*, p. 59.



pay. The Governor refused to pay or show cause and entered a counter-suit against Brent for 30,000 pounds of tobacco as "satisfaction of a trespassse done to the pl[aintif]f." Fenwick and Copley then obligated themselves in the amount of 30,000 pounds of tobacco to the Governor to prevent Brent's property from being attached. Brent in turn granted a process of attachment to Cornwaleys but the Sheriff, Edward Packer, refused to serve it on the Governor. Brent had to issue another writ to Thomas Matthews, who was sworn in as a Special Deputy. The Governor countered by issuing a warrant for the arrest of Brent "to make answer to severall crimes agst the dignity & dominion of the right ho[no]r[ab]le the Lord Proprietary of this Province."<sup>20</sup> The final outcome of these legal transactions is unknown as the records for the years 1645-1647 disappeared during the Ingle invasion.<sup>21</sup> Apparently some settlement was reached and the title to the land passed to Lord Baltimore. Kilty states indeed, that "the Proprietary having disposed of a part of the Chapel land, ordered that such quantity as was deemed necessary for the Chapel and burying place at the City of St. Mary's be supplied from some other of his Lordship's land lying contiguous thereto."<sup>22</sup>

During the Ingle invasion of 1645 mission property valued at over 2,000 pounds sterling was seized or destroyed. In a schedule filed by Father Copley, together with an affidavit, when he sued Ingle for recovery some years later, he mentioned that a house was burned, some sixty cattle were dispersed and twenty indentured servants were missing. All of the church and house furnishings at St. Mary's City, St. Inigoes, and Port Tobacco were stolen. In the same document, mention is made of massive silver plate, jewelry of gold, diamonds, sapphire and ruby, tapestry embroidered in gold and silver, and a fair library of books, valued at 150 pounds.<sup>23</sup> Very probably, the plate, jewelry and embroidered tapestry mentioned in the schedule were the vestments and the sacred vessels used in the Church service. Copley would hardly have dared to identify the stolen articles otherwise in a Court in England. Nor did he mention the destruction of the Chapel-House, other than as a house. Father Joseph Zwinge, S. J., has pointed out that it

<sup>20</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, IV, 266, 292-294, 301, 305.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, III, x.

<sup>22</sup> John Kilty, *Landholder's Assistant* (1808), p. 123.

<sup>23</sup> Henry F. Thompson, "Richard Ingle in Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, I (1906), 135-140; *Archives of Maryland*, IV, 415; X, 12.

was the Chapel-House that was destroyed, because the residence at St. Inigoes was in possession of a Mrs. Baldrige,<sup>24</sup> a Protestant, when Father Copley finally was able to return to Maryland in 1648, and the “ Hill ” house in St. Mary’s City remained intact as it was mentioned in a deed of 1667.<sup>25</sup> Father Copley’s former attorney, Robert Percy, seems to have known a great deal about the disappearance of the plate.<sup>26</sup>

As is well known, Fathers Copley and White were taken in chains to England by Ingle, where they were tried, acquitted, and ultimately released. The other Jesuit priests, Roger Rigby, Bernard Hartwell, and John Cooper are supposed to have fled to Virginia where they died in 1646 under unexplained circumstances.<sup>27</sup> Father Copley, after his release returned to Virginia in company with Father Laurence Starkey, S. J., early in 1648. For some weeks they remained in hiding but in February, 1648, Copley crossed over into Maryland and resumed his duties.<sup>28</sup> Father White who was 68 years old and in broken health, was not permitted to return to Maryland although he desired to do so. He died in England in 1656.<sup>29</sup>

During the years 1648-1650 Father Copley appears to have been engaged mainly in trying to recover the property and indentured servants of the mission.<sup>30</sup> On February 9, 1648/1649, he was out of the Province.<sup>31</sup> It is probable that he was in Virginia, where as delegate of the General of the Society of Jesus, he received the final vows of Father Starkey.<sup>32</sup> In July, 1650, he visited Margaret Brent in Stafford County, Virginia.<sup>33</sup> The Brent family on account of its differences with Lord Baltimore had left Maryland.<sup>34</sup>

None of Father Copley’s activities appears in the *Archives* after 1650. Perhaps poor health restricted his activities. According to

<sup>24</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, III, 178.

<sup>25</sup> Joseph Zwinge, S. J., “ The Jesuit Farms,” *Woodstock Letters*, XL (1911), 72. Issued by the Society of Jesus, Maryland Province, Woodstock College, Woodstock, Maryland. (Privately printed and circulated).

<sup>26</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, IV, 415.

<sup>27</sup> Hughes, *op. cit.*, Text I, 562; Text II, 11, 679.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, Documents I, 128; Text II, 24.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, Text II, 678.

<sup>30</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, IV, 379, 380-385, 396, 406, 420, 426, 443, 499, 507, 519, 531, 533; X, 33, 36, 38, 81, 129, 132, 137.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 473.

<sup>32</sup> Hughes, *op. cit.*, Text II, 25.

<sup>33</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, X, 104.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 239, 267; IV, 301; X, 104.



Hughes his death occurred on July 14, 1652, the circumstances and place being unknown.<sup>35</sup> However, another writer has recorded that he died at Patapsco, Maryland, in 1653.<sup>36</sup>

The information given so far has been culled largely from secular records about Thomas Copley. We now turn to Jesuit sources to complete the picture. Some apologists for Cecil Calvert, Lord Baltimore, and other writers on Maryland have expressed sharp criticism of Father Copley. His position in Maryland would have been difficult at any period and under any circumstances. In addition, he lived in one of the more critical periods of English, and consequently of Maryland history. Lord Baltimore was venturing to advance religious freedom during a period of religious upheaval. The attempt was complicated by the fact that the undertaking had to be financially successful or his family would be reduced to pauperism. The Calvert fortunes had been seriously depleted in the Avalon adventure in Newfoundland.<sup>37</sup>

Much has been written about Thomas Copley, Gentleman, but little has been written about Thomas Copley, Priest (alias Philip Fisher, S. J.). Father Copley was of a distinguished English family. His grandfather was Thomas Copley of Gatton who possessed several estates. Through one ancestress he claimed the barony of Welles, through another that of Hoo, and was related through them to Queen Elizabeth. Both Burleigh and Walsingham, the Queen's trusted counsellors, were his kinsmen. Few untitled families ranked higher or possessed greater wealth when Elizabeth ascended the throne of England in 1558. Grandfather Thomas Copley married Catherine, the daughter and co-heiress of Sir John Lutterel of Dunster, Somersetshire. After the troubles in Northern England in 1570 he went to Louvain and in 1575 entered the service of the King of Spain. Although he refused to give up his religion, Queen Elizabeth permitted him to keep a considerable part of his holdings in England.<sup>38</sup>

While in exile from England, Mr. Copley corresponded with the Queen. Elizabeth wrote from Hampton Court in February, 1576, to Requesens, Spanish Governor of the Low Counties,

<sup>35</sup> Hughes, *op. cit.*, Text II, 47, 679.

<sup>36</sup> Frederick Lewis Weis, *The Colonial Clergy of Maryland, Delaware, and Georgia* (1950), p. 39.

<sup>37</sup> Matthew Page Andrews, *History of Maryland*, (1929), p. 8.

<sup>38</sup> Mrs. K. C. Dorsey, "Life of Father Thomas Copley," *Woodstock Letters*, XIII (1884), 249.

desiring him to show favor to Thomas Copley who had done her good service and stated that he was not of those traitors and rebels who had fled from the realm, but was abroad for his religion and liberty of conscience. She could not deny that “ he is ancientment of my blood or that he has formerly honorably served me.”<sup>39</sup> While the family was still in exile, Thomas’ son and heir, William, married Magdalen Prideaux. The eldest child of this marriage, also called Thomas, was born in Madrid in 1594. In 1603, after the death of the Queen, his mother brought the children to the ancestral Copley home at Gatton where they were permitted to remain. Thomas’ sisters Mary and Helen entered a religious order at Louvain in 1610. Thomas soon followed in their footsteps, after transferring his family inheritance to his brother, William. He entered the Society of Jesus at Louvain sometime between 1611 and 1615. The Rector at that time was Father John Gerard, S. J., of the ancient and distinguished family of Lancashire.<sup>40</sup> Father Andrew White was a member of the teaching staff at the College.<sup>41</sup>

Sometime after completion of his studies Father Copley returned to England, for when the Jesuit Residence at Clerkenwell was raided by Government agents in 1628, his alias of Philip Fisher appeared more than once in the reports.<sup>42</sup> Father Thomas Hughes, S. J., has pointed out that before Copley’s departure for Maryland, his office and duties in London gave him every opportunity to work for the Maryland colony and mission. He was in charge of the London Residence, under the Rector of the Community and he had charge of the temporalities in general, that is, he was both minister and procurator. Hughes suggests also that these duties caused Copley to seek the protection of the King of England as “ an alien born ” in order that he might have freedom of action. His petition was granted and a warrant was issued on December 10, 1634, securing to “ Thomas Copley, gentleman, an alien,” the appropriate immunities from persecution.<sup>43</sup>

Undoubtedly Father Copley worked closely with Father Andrew

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, XIV (1885), 29.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, XIV (1885), 33; William Playfair, *British Family Antiquity*, VI, Appendix; John Gerard, *The Autobiography of a Hunted Priest* (Translated from the Latin by Philip Caraman) (New York, Pellagrini and Cudahy, 1952), p. 277.

<sup>41</sup> *Woodstock Letters*, XIV, 34; Hughes, *op. cit.*, Text I, 168.

<sup>42</sup> Hughes, *op. cit.*, Text I, 366.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, Text I, 335, 366.



White in the advance preparation that was necessary prior to the settlement of the colony in Maryland. Father White was secretary to Lord Baltimore <sup>44</sup> and Father Copley as minister and procurator of the Jesuit Residence had the responsibility for arranging for the establishment of the mission in Maryland. It is probable that these duties prevented Copley from sailing with the first group of colonists. Due to the controversy between Lord Baltimore and the Jesuits, Father Copley did not reach Maryland until 1637.

It is not the purpose of this paper to discuss this controversy in any detail. The Jesuit side of the matter has been thoroughly explored by Father Hughes in his work, *The History of the Society of Jesus in North America*. William Hand Browne, Bishop William Thomas Russell, Matthew Page Andrews, and other well-known Maryland historians and writers also have reviewed this matter thoroughly. William Hand Browne has stated Lord Baltimore's problem and position in the following words:

The priests, moreover, dwelling in the wilderness, freed from the statute law, and no longer under the shadow of *praemunire*, were disposed to claim the immunities and exemptions of the bull *In Coena Domini*, and to hold themselves free of the common law, and answerable to the canon law only, and to ecclesiastical tribunals. Baltimore was a Romanist in faith, but he was an Englishman with all the instincts of his race. He at once planted himself on the ground that all his colonists, cleric or lay, were under the common law, and there should be no land held in mortmain in the Province.<sup>45</sup>

To this may be added Lord Baltimore's own statement of his problem to his brother, Governor Leonard Calvert:

And for aught you know some accident might have happened here that it was no injustice in me to refuse them [the Jesuits] grants of land at all and that by reason of some act of this state it might have endangered my life and fortune to have permitted them to have had any grants at all; which I do not, I assure you, mention without good ground. . . .<sup>46</sup>

Judge Ives has written that when Baltimore wrote this letter he, at times, "used harsh language and made accusations wholly unwarranted. He wrote as a man out of patience, and as a man would write who had cares and worries which others did not understand. . . ." <sup>47</sup>

<sup>44</sup> "The Calvert Papers," *op. cit.*, p. 209.

<sup>45</sup> William Hand Browne, *Maryland, The History of a Palatinate* (1888), p. 55.

<sup>46</sup> "The Calvert Papers," *op. cit.*, p. 220.

<sup>47</sup> J. Moss Ives, *The Ark and the Dove* (1936), p. 214.

Father Copley also was burdened with problems. He was made Superior of the mission upon his arrival in Maryland, a heavy responsibility, since he had to make the mission self-supporting. The colonists were not required or asked to contribute to the support of either the priests or their establishments, which was a severe handicap to the missionary work of the priests. Under the regular “ Conditions of Plantation ” they were entitled to some 28,000 acres of land and in addition had bought other land.<sup>48</sup> They would not have made this large investment if they had known that they could not possess it in furtherance of their missionary work. As regards Copley’s request for certain immunities and privileges it must be regarded in the light of the times.<sup>49</sup> He asked only for those privileges generally accorded to the Church by European governments in those days. Thomas Cornwaleys, a layman, supported Copley and was most emphatic in writing Baltimore on the same subject.<sup>50</sup> There are, too, many indications that Governor Leonard Calvert was sympathetic, and Calvert did not hesitate to demand, and on occasion received, special personal privileges from the Provincial government.<sup>51</sup> In the final analysis, it would seem that the main point of Father Copley’s claim, as pointed out by Judge Ives, was that lands held solely for religious and educational purposes should not be subject to the burden of assessment and taxation, a principle that is generally recognized in this country today.<sup>52</sup>

Many other charges have been leveled at Father Copley during the past three hundred years. It will be of interest to review them in the light of all the evidence now at hand. One writer has suggested<sup>53</sup> and another has stated<sup>54</sup> that Father Copley had broken his vows by marrying and consequently could serve only in secular affairs. Hughes has effectively disproved this charge.<sup>55</sup> Some writers<sup>56</sup> have repeated that “ Father [Henry] More when Provincial gave it as his opinion that Father Copley ‘ though of

<sup>48</sup> See Notes 13 and 16.

<sup>49</sup> “ The Calvert Papers,” *op. cit.*, p. 157.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 171.

<sup>51</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, I, 173, 182.

<sup>52</sup> Ives, *op. cit.*, p. 211.

<sup>53</sup> E. D. Neill, *Terra Mariae* (1867), p. 70.

<sup>54</sup> C. E. Smith, *Religion Under the Barons of Baltimore* (1899), p. 203.

<sup>55</sup> Hughes, *op. cit.*, Text I, 121.

<sup>56</sup> Bishop William Thomas Russell, *Maryland the Land of Sanctuary* (1907), pp. 158-159; Andrews, *op. cit.*, p. 102, footnote.



good talents and sufficient experience,' was 'deficient in judgment and prudence'." This, of course, was one man's opinion. Father More, while described as "one of the most learned and prudent men in England," had difficulty in arriving at decisions and ultimately resigned his office as Provincial. It has also been stated that he was so sparing of his words and irresolute in his replies to members who sought his advice that they went away with the same difficulties which they brought for solution.<sup>57</sup> This perhaps explains the reason for Copley's corresponding directly with the General of the Society on occasion.<sup>58</sup> It should be remembered also that as Superior of the mission Copley had no choice but to represent the Jesuit side of the controversy with Lord Baltimore. Further than this, he was not empowered to make a final decision. Father Copley wrote to the General after the Assembly of 1639, and received the following reply on September 3, 1639:

Your difficulties, as described in your letter of May 14th, touch me deeply; and I do not see how I can help to solve them. However, I derive great comfort from that state of tranquility which has ensued on the rejection of the laws by the delegates, as well as from the uprightness of that magistrate who, desiring to be reckoned a Catholic, will, I trust, determine on no measure against ecclesiastics without referring to the Chief Pastor [the Pope]; since, without him, it is not lawful for them to attempt anything, nor for us to acquiesce, if they did so. He alone and under him the others [ecclesiastical superiors] decide in matters concerning their men, of whatever nation these may be, or in whatever part of the world.<sup>58</sup>

On the same day the General wrote to the new Provincial Edward Knott:

I see well enough in what a critical condition the Fathers in Maryland are placed by reason of the new laws [bills?]. But, if one or other alternative must be taken, then conscience is to be deferred to rather than the clamors of popular cupidity [or the fears of popular odium]. If his Excellency Signor Con could be persuaded to submit the matter to the Holy See, I think it would be worth the trouble.<sup>59</sup>

Father Copley's correspondence with Lord Baltimore was diplomatic and restrained, despite Baltimore's caustic marginal notations. In his letter of April 3, 1638, he made an honest appraisal of conditions in the colony and reported how the people felt about

<sup>57</sup> Hughes, *op. cit.*, Text I, 422, 423, 458, 459.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, Text I, 458.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, Text I, 459.

these conditions; based upon his own experience he counseled planting and development of the land instead of pursuing trade and cautioned against trying to get a return on the investment too fast. He emphasized the latter point by using several pithy sayings, viz.,

Certainly I conceaue that your Lor[dshi]pe will rather thinke it fit to nourish and support younge sprigs, then to depresse them; and to goe aboute to gather frute befor it be planted and ripe, is nuer to haue frute. . . . But endedd the old saings are true that Roome was not bulte in a day, and that such as will lipe [leap] ouer [the] stile [stile], before they cumme at them, shall breake there shin, and perhaps not gitt ouer the still [stile] soe quickly, as those, who cumme to them, befor they boe ouer.<sup>60</sup>

Gentle Father White wrote Lord Baltimore along many of the same lines as Father Copley but in much stronger language.<sup>61</sup> The forthright Thomas Cornwaleys was even more emphatic in his letter of April 16, 1638, regarding the enactment of objectionable laws by the Assembly. He wrote:

Other mens Imaginations are noe infallible presidents [precedents] toe mee, nor will the multitude of names nor Seales, moue mee to bee A foole for Company, for what in them was only Inadvertens, non would tearm less than foolery in mee, *whoe might or ought toe know by experiens, that it is impossible toe Comply with the Conditions mentioned in the Lease and bee a Sauer by them.*<sup>62</sup>

One searches in vain for any real evidence that Copley was lacking in prudence or judgment. Rather, from such evidence as is extant, it would appear that he was true to his duty in a difficult situation and acted with good sense and forbearance. When the controversy was finally settled and Copley was advised by his superiors to accede to Baltimore's wishes, he gracefully did so and that was the end of the matter.

Touching the matter of politics, it is a matter of record that Father Copley and the other Jesuits declined to participate in the General Assemblies.<sup>63</sup> Copley explained the reasons for this action in his letter of April 3, 1638, to Baltimore, although he did not go into detail.<sup>64</sup> There were three reasons for this action: (1) the

<sup>60</sup> "The Calvert Papers," *op. cit.*, pp. 161-162.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 201.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 170, 176.

<sup>63</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, I, 2, 5.

<sup>64</sup> "The Calvert Papers," *op. cit.*, p. 157.



Assembly was competent to try causes of blood; and, in point of fact, it judged and hanged Thomas Smith [Smyth],<sup>65</sup> on a charge of piracy. Every Catholic clergyman is and always has been disqualified both by canon law, and by the civil law in conjunction with the canons, from taking an active part in such causes; (2) the Jesuits were inhibited by their own rules and constitutions from taking part in deliberations of a political character; and (3) they were too busy with their missionary work to participate in such activities, even if it had been permissible. Apparently John Lewger, Secretary of the Province (who later applied for entrance in the Jesuit Order and subsequently was ordained a Catholic priest),<sup>66</sup> must have complained that the Fathers were influencing legislation because Father Copley was moved to write Lord Baltimore in these words:

*Yet Mr. Lugar, conceaving that some that had relation to us weare not soe favourable to his waye, as he desired, seemed in some sorte to attribuite the same to us, But I will assure your Lordshipe that he was much mistaken, for truly we weare noe cause thereof; as he might easily haue gathered in that William Lewis who is our overseier and had more Proxis then all the rest, was ever concurring w[i]th. him, w[hi]ch. could not haue binne if we had binne auerse. . . .*<sup>67</sup>

William Lewis, who was the overseer of the Jesuit plantation at St. Inigoes had proxies for five persons and later held a sixth, disposing thus of seven votes which appear to have been more than those held by any other person.<sup>68</sup> He was such a zealous Catholic that his zeal caused a great deal of trouble a few months later. In addition to Lewis and Robert Clerke (Clarke), another employee, the Fathers had many influential friends such as Thomas Cornwaleys and Cuthbert Fenwick, whom they could have called upon if they had wanted to exert their influence. The laws passed by the Assembly of 1638, with the help of Lewis and over the bitter objects of Cornwaleys,<sup>69</sup> indicate that the Fathers left politics severely alone. Nor is there any evidence that they departed from this course at any subsequent time.

The celebrated Lewis case furnishes an excellent example of

<sup>65</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, I, 16-19.

<sup>66</sup> Hughes, *op. cit.*, Text II, 16.

<sup>67</sup> "The Calvert Papers," *op. cit.*, p. 158.

<sup>68</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, I, 3, 5.

<sup>69</sup> "The Calvert Papers," *op. cit.*, p. 169.

the liberal and tolerant viewpoint of Father Copley. In the trial of this case Francis Gray testified that he had spoken with Copley regarding the difficulty with Lewis over religion, "& that Mr. Copley had given him good satisfaction in it, & blamed much William Lewis for his contumelious speeches and ill-governed zeale and said it was fitt he should be punished. . . ." <sup>70</sup>

It seems to have been taken for granted over the years that Father Copley was more of a business man than a priest. Here again, as in the controversy with Lord Baltimore, his secular duties were not a matter of choice with Copley. As Superior of the Mission during the greater part of his life in Maryland the temporal responsibilities rested squarely upon his shoulders. In addition, due to his previous experience in England, he was the best fitted to handle this work so necessary to the life of the mission. The spiritual work of the Fathers could not be carried on unless the mission was self-sustaining. It cannot be denied that he did a good job and had talent as an administrator. At the time of his death there was a residence and chapel at St. Mary's City.<sup>71</sup> A school was in operation <sup>72</sup> and the Jesuits held plantations at St. Inigoes and Port Tobacco,<sup>73</sup> despite the set back at the hands of Richard Ingle.

Years before, when Father Copley conceived the desire to enter the Society of Jesus, his father who opposed the idea came over from England (probably to St. Omers), took him home and turned over to him for three years the administration of the family estates. Yet he did not succeed in keeping his son from following his vocation.<sup>74</sup> This practical business experience together with his services as procurator of the London Residence undoubtedly contributed to his success as administrator of the Maryland Mission. This success was a personal tragedy to Copley the priest, for it prevented him from becoming an Indian missionary as he so ardently desired. The real motivating force of his whole life was the love of his Creator, the saving of souls, and service to mankind; he was a priest first whose administrative problems and material matters were decidedly of secondary importance. These

<sup>70</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, IV, 37.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 78; IV, 266.

<sup>72</sup> Hughes, *op. cit.*, Text II, 46.

<sup>73</sup> Louis Dow Sisco, "Land Notes, 1634-1655," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, VI (1911), 202; VII (1912), 386; VIII (1913), 268.

<sup>74</sup> Hughes, *op. cit.*, Text II, 48.



facts are clearly established by his correspondence with his superiors and in the Annual Letters.<sup>75</sup>

As early as 1639, Father Copley petitioned the General of the Society to relieve him of his duties at St. Mary's City and to allow him to go on the Indian missions.<sup>76</sup> In the Annual Letter of 1640 it was reported that Father Copley still resided at St. Mary's City but nothing more agreeable could have happened to him than to have been able to labor in the Indian harvest. However, his congregation could not do without his services, and he had brought five converts into the Church during the year.<sup>77</sup> The Letter of 1642 advised that the Superior, Father Copley, remained for the most part at St. Mary's during the year, in order that he might take care of the English and the Indians living not far distant. This letter includes a moving description of a typical excursion by the Jesuit Missionaries, often quoted by Maryland writers, which in all probability was written by Copley, since he was the Superior.<sup>78</sup>

On July 16, 1644, the General wrote to Father Copley felicitating him on the number of baptisms and on the work done in Virginia. He also discussed the project of penetrating further among the Indians and Copley's design for a missionary excursion into New England. After Copley's return to Maryland from England in 1648, the General commended him for his self-abnegation and zeal in undertaking the Mission anew.<sup>79</sup> Upon his arrival in Maryland, he wrote the General on March 1, 1648, that, "Like an angel of God did they receive me." He had spent two weeks with the colonists but found it difficult to tear himself away. However, the Indians who also had been treated badly by the raiders were calling for him. "I scarcely know what to do," he wrote, "since I cannot satisfy all." Not a word was said about the looting and destruction of the mission property, which meant, however, that he must start to build anew. Instead, he wrote that he hoped that the General and the Provincial would concur in sending him a reinforcement of two or three men who would be required to care for the spiritual needs of Maryland and Virginia.

<sup>75</sup> For an explanation of the Annual Letters see Clayton C. Hall, *Narratives of Early Maryland* (1910), p. 115.

<sup>76</sup> Hughes, *op. cit.*, Documents I, 23.

<sup>77</sup> Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 133.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 134.

<sup>79</sup> Hughes, *op. cit.*, Text I, 562; Documents I, 36.

He closed his letter, “ God grant that I may do His Will for the greater glory of His Name. Truly, flowers appear in our land; may they attain to fruit.” <sup>80</sup>

On March 13, 1648, Father Copley had recorded in the Provincial Court the old safe-conduct, for which he had petitioned Charles I fifteen years before.<sup>81</sup> Nothing in the Jesuit records mentions this act, and one can only speculate as to his reasons for so doing. Perhaps after his experience with Ingle and the troubled times in England he felt it was the wise course. If it is correct that he died at Patapsco, perhaps his Superior finally permitted him to go out on an Indian mission, which would account for his disappearance from the Provincial records after 1650.

Although Father Copley was unable to join in the original adventure he should be counted as one of the founders of the Maryland Mission. Copley Hall at Georgetown University perpetuates his name among the outstanding early Maryland Jesuit missionaries. While his health was poor, his activity was great <sup>82</sup> and he was one of the most prominent figures in the mission during fifteen of its early years. Despite his earlier criticism of Copley, Father Henry More wrote in commendation of his zeal that not yet sated with labors nor wearied to death with sufferings, he was imitating the divine love of One who left ninety-nine sheep on the eternal hills and sought the lonely creature lost amid the briers of the earth. He stated further that when the Father had undergone many labors for the propagation of the faith, he died in Maryland a holy death worthy of his life.<sup>83</sup> Truly this man deserves to be better known as Thomas Copley, Priest.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, Documents I, 128; Text II, 24.

<sup>81</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, IV, 479.

<sup>82</sup> Hughes, *op. cit.*, Text II, 46, 47.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, Text II, 47, 48.



# AN ABOLITION MARTYRDOM IN MARYLAND

By HAZEL C. WOLF

MARYLAND was a center of attention for American abolitionists from 1844 to 1846, for in a Baltimore jail was Charles Turner Torrey, New England clergyman and professional abolitionist. Imprisoned for breaking Maryland's laws against aid to fugitive Negroes, Torrey's incarceration there climaxed many years of anti-slavery agitation and furnished abolition lecturers and journalists with copious polemic material to demonstrate Maryland's inhumanity to humanitarians.

For Charles Torrey, born at Scituate, Massachusetts, in 1813, imprisonment in Baltimore jail was in keeping with his stormy life. Reared by indulgent grandparents, he lacked self-discipline and in youth floundered at finding a life work. Upon graduation at Yale, he tried and failed at school teaching, then entered the theological seminary at Andover, Massachusetts. But in the belief that he suffered from tuberculosis, he left shortly for a long pedestrian journey which he thought restored his health. Returning to his study for the ministry, he worked for two years with established pastors. He completed his course with Reverend Jacob Ide of West Medway and on October 25, 1836, the Mendon Association of Congregational Ministers licensed him to preach.<sup>1</sup>

But as Torrey sought a ministerial appointment, he encountered the first of many difficulties over his stand on slavery. Abolition had brought cleavage to many congregations. "My abolitionism and Emmonsism," he boasted early in 1837, just before he accepted a call to the Richmond Street Congregational Church in Providence, Rhode Island, "might cause a few to leave, and would draw others. The friends of the slave are determined to

<sup>1</sup> Joseph C. Lovejoy, *Memoir of Rev. Charles T. Torrey* (Boston, 1847), pp. 1-6, 28-33; Mortimer Blake, *Centurial History of the Mendon Association of Congregational Ministers* (Boston, 1853), pp. 78, 316.

have one abolition church, and the abolitionists are the sound men in doctrine. Still, something may occur to cause a struggle and prevent my remaining here.”<sup>2</sup> So with his bride, daughter of his ministerial tutor, he established himself at Providence and divided his attention between the immediate problems of his congregation and the great moral issues of the day. Of these latter, he daily increased his attention to the evils of American slavery. Soon his abolition sermons outnumbered all others. Some members of his congregation gloried in his crusade; some actively opposed it. Shortly they divided sharply over the issue. But those friendly to Torrey’s views were the minority, and he resigned. It was better, he believed, to labor where his words might spur the cause than to remain where impassioned appeals brought only contention. In January, 1838, he became pastor of Harvard Street Church in Salem where George Barrell Cheever had already “abolitionized” the congregation.<sup>3</sup>

But Torrey’s anti-slavery zeal drove him beyond the duties of ministering to those already converted. In 1839 he joined the Massachusetts clergymen who objected to William Lloyd Garrison’s preoccupation with such extraneous matters as world peace, proper sabbath observance, non-resistance, women’s rights, and the injustices of all forms of human government. With them, Torrey worked to replace the *Liberator* with a paper devoted entirely to abolition and became editor of the new Massachusetts Abolition Society’s *Massachusetts Abolitionist*. Garrison fought back and the national society split over the question of whether abolition crusaders in the future were to call Americans to renounce slavery as sin or to ballot it out of existence. Torrey battled to make the campaign a political one. For his stand Garrison blasted him and his efforts and broadcast his name wherever the *Liberator* went. So by 1840 American abolitionists knew Torrey well.<sup>4</sup>

Meanwhile, Torrey formulated his long range abolition program. He would, he said, evangelize slaveholders, provide Bible instruction for slaves, send out more abolition lecturers, expand newspaper appeal and enlist more clergymen to preach the sin of

<sup>2</sup> Lovejoy, *op. cit.*, pp. 39-40. Nathaniel Emmons, American theologian, taught that men act freely under divine agency.

<sup>3</sup> Blake, *op. cit.*, pp. 112, 317-319.

<sup>4</sup> Wendell P. Garrison and Francis J. Garrison, *William Lloyd Garrison* (4 vols., New York, 1885), II, 266-276.



slaveholding. He would at the same time strengthen the political movement with more anti-slavery petitions to Congress and with greater efforts to elect anti-slavery men to legislative bodies.

When the opinions of the MASSACHUSETTS public are right, [Torrey wrote,] we expect the legislative, judicial, and executive powers will be wielded, so far as may be, in favor of liberty and against slavery. When the majority of the NATIONAL 'public' are right, CONGRESS will sweep away every vestige of slavery within the limits of its constitutional power. Separate states will, one by one, do the same ;and so on, till the work is done.<sup>5</sup>

In addition, Torrey turned to more direct assistance to the enslaved Negro. In 1841 he brought a Boston seaman into court for his insistence upon returning to the South a runaway North Carolina stowaway slave. While his action did not save the fugitive from return to bondage, it did occasion the organization of the Boston Vigilance Committee to secure for colored persons their constitutional and legal rights. Torrey became the group's secretary.<sup>6</sup>

Meanwhile, however, Torrey's financial condition steadily worsened. Neither as minister nor as abolitionist editor-lecturer could he adequately provide for his family. In 1841 he determined upon a new career. Late in that year he went to the national capital as correspondent for a number of New York and Boston papers. Again he clashed with Southerners. Early in the new year he covered an Annapolis meeting of slaveholders who had responded to a call to "all persons favorable to the protection of slaveholding interests in the state." There, on Thursday, January 12, he took a seat on the main floor and began note-taking for a report to his papers. Suddenly the chairman asked that all non-members leave the room. Other reporters remained; Torrey hesitated. Then John M. S. Causin, brilliant young Annapolis attorney, moved that only those non-members who could find sponsors among the accredited delegates be allowed seats on the main floor. Although Torrey knew no one, he assumed that the rule functioned as it did for the United States Congress whose sessions he was currently reporting and that he could, after adjournment, introduce himself to some delegate and for the remaining sessions

<sup>5</sup> Lovejoy, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

<sup>6</sup> *Tenth Annual Report of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society* (Boston, 1842), 81; *Liberator*, June 11, 18, 1841.

could sit in the main hall. Hence he found a place among gallery spectators and continued his notes. Almost at once the door-keeper singled him out and demanded that he leave the building. As Torrey gathered up his belongings and prepared to leave, the man suddenly seized him by the collar and pushed him into a committee room with instructions for him to wait there for the convention's decision on admitting him. At Torrey's objection the man softened and predicted the group would shortly admit him.

So Torrey waited. To his surprise he soon heard the delegates' disagreement over him. The debate was heated. Angry slaveholders left the main hall and came threateningly into the committee room. Some reviled him; others advised him to flee the town. When he finally left to return to Washington, a mob waylaid him, insisted that he settle at once for his lodging and surged into his room to rummage through his papers, while protesting loudly against all abolitionists. Although their search yielded nothing incriminating, some called him an incendiary and shouted against his peaceable departure. Some threatened tar and feathers; some wanted him hanged; some merely urged him out of town.

Even as they talked a clerk arrived to present Torrey with a magistrate's warrant which committed him to jail. The mob followed as the officer hurried Torrey along. Some shouted that legal processes were much too slow for dealing with hated abolitionists. For the next three days Torrey shivered and prayed among imprisoned slaves in Annapolis jail. In his unheated cell he re-dedicated his life to the Negro's freedom.<sup>7</sup>

"May God help me to be faithful," he said later, "to that pledge made in Annapolis jail. In that cell, God helping me, if it stands, I will celebrate the emancipation of the slaves in Maryland before ten years more roll away."<sup>8</sup>

Torrey's trial came up on the next Monday. As the hour approached, the court room bulged with spectators. Some came of the desire to see a man who risked his freedom and his life in an unpopular cause; some came to see a wretch flogged, tarred and feathered, perhaps hanged. Others hoped to blast his name with a denunciation which would damn every abolitionist in the land.

When Judge Nicholas Brewer called the case, John M. S. Causin, whose keen mind and forceful voice had already won him

<sup>7</sup> *Niles' National Register*, 61: 322-323 (January 15, 1842), 356 (February 5, 1842); Lovejoy, *op. cit.*, pp. 92-94.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 95.



political recognition, came confidently forward. With great assurance he examined witnesses against Torrey. Then he read from extreme anti-slavery journals and interpreted Torrey's brief convention notes in that light. He emphasized the danger of the groups whose agent he said Torrey was; he called him an incendiary and a disseminator of dangerous doctrine. The crowd applauded.

Then Torrey's counsel, Thomas S. Alexander, Maryland anti-slavery advocate, replied briefly to Causin's remarks and put his client on the stand. As soon as Torrey had answered routine questions Judge Brewer declared that he must retain the prisoner until the court could investigate statements which some state witnesses had testified that Torrey had attributed to Maryland Negroes. As Judge Brewer signed the commitment which remanded him to jail for another week, Torrey well knew the consequences should the court later find him guilty of plotting with Negroes against the laws of Maryland. His fears proved groundless when he again went before Judge Brewer. The slaveholders' convention had dispersed, popular excitement had subsided, and Torrey went free on bond to keep the peace. So he returned to his writing and lecturing and was for a year editor of the *Tocsin of Liberty*, an anti-Garrison paper published in Albany.

His zeal for the enslaved soon led Torrey into further difficulties.<sup>9</sup> In 1843 a Negro who had successfully traveled the underground railway to Canada appealed to Torrey for help in getting his wife and children out of slavery. Such requests Torrey had never been able to refuse. He hastened South with the man, hired a span of horses and a carriage at the Pennsylvania border and traveled to the national capital to meet the fugitives. Before he could execute his plan, capital police officers seized the Negro family and confiscated Torrey's horses and vehicle. Hastily Torrey borrowed money to pay for animals and carriage, then went on to Delaware to work with the underground railway. Shortly thereafter he returned North and in Philadelphia met one Emily Webb, a free Negro, who asked him to bring out of bondage her husband and children, slaves of Bushrod Taylor in Virginia. This Torrey did, then again returned North.<sup>10</sup>

Early in 1844, Torrey, ever in financial straits, moved to Baltimore and made plans for entering the starch manufacturing busi-

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 95-105.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 105-125; *Emancipator*, May 27, 1842.

ness. His violations of slave state laws overtook him. On June 24 an executive requisition from Virginia sent him to Baltimore jail for his part in the Webb family escape the previous year. Immediately one William Heckrotte of Baltimore signed a warrant for his detention for aiding certain of his slaves out of Maryland. Since the Webb case involved extradition to Virginia, Heckrotte's charge took precedence and Maryland authorities kept Torrey in jail to await trial.<sup>11</sup>

Torrey's imprisonment in the Baltimore jail began two years of public attention to his story. Within a month the prisoner himself wrote to abolitionists of Essex County, Massachusetts, and invited them to meet him around Washington's monument in Baltimore on July 4, 1848, to celebrate the triumph of liberty in Maryland. To other groups he explained his ideas for ridding the country of slavery and defended himself against abolitionists who deplored his method of aiding the Negro. He argued that he was unjustly imprisoned upon a mere requisition from Virginia authorities, he denied the constitutionality of punishment for aiding an escaping slave when such action was not a felony in half the slave states.<sup>12</sup> "Shall a man," he asked, "be put into the Penitentiary for doing good?—for doing his plain duty to the poor and oppressed?"<sup>13</sup>

Meanwhile, abolition groups in the North adopted Torrey's cause. Boston Negroes held a sympathy meeting, whites in Upton, Massachusetts, collected money for him. Northampton citizens prayed for him and urged action in his behalf. Soon, however, he was the subject of contention among abolitionists. Never a robust man, Torrey had become ill after a few weeks' imprisonment. Deeply discouraged that his hopes for trial in federal court would not materialize, he worked stealthily at sawing away his prison bars. His wary keepers detected his efforts, however, and he remained in jail. When his trial began in November, 1844, friends and foes alike still debated the wisdom of his actions in the entire matter.<sup>14</sup>

The Maryland indictment against Torrey charged that he enticed, persuaded and assisted certain of William Heckrotte's

<sup>11</sup> Lovejoy, *op. cit.*, p. 126; *Emancipator and Weekly Chronicle*, July 24, August 7, 1844.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, September 11, 1844; Lovejoy, *op. cit.*, pp. 130-149.

<sup>13</sup> Lovejoy, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 148-150; *Liberator*, September 6, 13, 27, 1844; *Emancipator and Weekly Chronicle*, August 28, September 4, October 2, 9, 1844



slaves to escape. Convicted, in early 1845 he began a prison term which was to terminate on April 2, 1851. During the months he served time in the Baltimore jail, Torrey's story became prime news of the abolition movement. His supporters built a "martyr fund," and abolition journals urged contributions. Anti-slavery organizations listened to speakers who praised him and condemned Maryland law, then adopted resolutions approving his course. Even Garrison, for all his former rancor, eventually announced that he could excuse the imprudence of Torrey's method of helping the Negro. Friends planned to publish letters and papers which he had written in jail. Abolition journals faithfully described the prison work he did, listed the books he received, enumerated his visitors and reported on his physical condition. On June 18, 1845, the *Emancipator and Chronicle* said that a correspondent had visited Torrey and found him in good health, with a clean room, good food, light labors, and opportunity to attend worship, read, or to write letters for himself and his fellow prisoners. But, said the paper, there was no prospect of his release. Meanwhile, however, his religious influence over the other prisoners was excellent. The same publication offered a five verse Torrey lament on conditions for liberty in the United States and in November the paper urged the readers to "Remember Torrey at the polls."<sup>15</sup>

Then in the fall of 1845 Torrey's visitors reported that his health had failed. His eyes were dim, they said, and his voice hoarse, his body emaciated, his movements feeble and his spirits extremely depressed. He would surely die unless his family and friends could secure his release for proper care.<sup>16</sup>

Some months previously, Torrey's father-in-law, Reverend Jacob Ide, had investigated the possibilities for obtaining a pardon from Maryland's governor. In April Mrs. Torrey had reported to her husband that if he would promise never to "go to those States FOR THAT PURPOSE AGAIN" certain influential members of the Senate would probably petition for his pardon. Even the governor of Massachusetts would intercede for him.<sup>17</sup> But Charles Torrey was an obstinate man and would not promise. So in January, 1846, his friends began a new procedure. At that time

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, December 11, 25, 1844, January 1, February 12, March 5, June 18, October 29, November 5, 1845, May 27, 1846; *Liberator*, December 13, 20, 1844, January 3, 1845; *Niles' National Register*, 67: 213 (November 30, 1844); Lovejoy, *op. cit.*, pp. 171-214.

<sup>16</sup> *Emancipator*, October 22, 1845; *Liberator*, December 5, 1845.

<sup>17</sup> Lovejoy, *op. cit.*, p. 247.

Amos A. Phelps went South for an interview with the Maryland governor. He learned only that Torrey would die unless he left the prison very soon.<sup>18</sup> Then Mrs. Torrey wrote the state executive and admitted that her husband had assisted runaway slaves, but said that he had done so only after they had made their own decision to flee. "I feel authorized," she wrote, "to give the fullest assurance, both to you and the people of Maryland, that my husband will never visit your State for that purpose."<sup>19</sup> Friends assured Southerners that most Northerners disapproved of actions such as Torrey's and vouched for his good behavior after release. In March Amos A. Phelps sent the governor a duplicate of a letter originally sent the previous August, asking if Torrey could be released without dishonorable concessions, what promises he might have to make, how much money he would need, and if release from Maryland would automatically excuse him on the Virginia charge. Phelps hoped to gain Torrey's freedom on payment of counsel and court costs and so engaged a defense attorney and announced that he hoped to effect release in two or three weeks. Maryland authorities would not say that release there would cancel extradition to Virginia for trial in the Webb case. In addition, Heckrotte, believing that the state legislature was about to reimburse him for his loss, had little interest in the disposal of Torrey's case. By March, 1846, negotiations had become so involved and Torrey's health so impaired that his agents withdrew their offer of payment and determined to use the money for his family after his certain death.<sup>20</sup>

Meanwhile, details of the story filled the columns of abolition journals. The *Liberator* promised a chronicle of Torrey's life and religious experience; another paper announced a forthcoming book by the martyr himself.<sup>21</sup> Still another quoted a reader who hailed him as a third martyr—with John Mahan and Elijah Lovejoy—and concluded, ". . . *Torrey* is pining away in a Penitentiary, with no hope of deliverance, until death shall break his fetters, and loosen the iron grasp of the *merciless despots*." <sup>22</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Gilbert H. Barnes and Dwight L. Dumond, eds., *Letters of Theodore Dwight Weld, Angelina Grimké 1822-1844* (2 vols., New York, 1934), II, 997, 1006-1007; *Emancipator*, May 6, 20, 1846.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, March 4, 1846.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, March 4, May 20, 1846; *Liberator*, February 27, 1846; Lovejoy, *op. cit.*, pp. 282-292.

<sup>21</sup> *Liberator*, January 9, 1846; *Emancipator*, April 8, 1846.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, May 6, 1846. In 1838 John B. Mahan, an Ohio minister, went to jail in Kentucky on a charge of aiding slaves to escape.



Then in April, 1846, American abolitionists learned that prison authorities had hospitalized Torrey and that he could live but a short time. Some frantically demanded his release that he might die in peace. In Boston a Torrey Committee of forty met to arrange obsequies and burial. They discussed funds for a monument and considered future finances for his family. Torrey's pastor went to Baltimore and gave him communion. Other ministers led their congregations in prayers for the doomed man. Posterity, declared Henry B. Stanton, would do justice to "our fallen friend."<sup>23</sup>

On May 9, 1846, Charles Torrey died. Abolition editors described his return to Boston in his zinc-lined cherry coffin with the small window in the lid and called his friends to services scheduled for Park Street Church, but Torrey was no more acceptable to Park Street Congregationalists than he was to Maryland slaveholders. A few hours before the services the Torrey Committee received a curt note in which the church trustees cancelled their previous permit for use of the building. Torrey's friends carried him to Tremont Temple where he lay in state for three hours. Abolition ministers of several denominations conducted the rites. Each pastor offered prayer. Then the Reverend Joseph C. Lovejoy of Cambridgeport, brother of the fallen Elijah, took his text from the eighteenth verse of the one-hundred-fifth psalm: "Whose feet they hurt with fetters: he was laid in iron," and in developing the theme reviewed all the trouble which had befallen Torrey because of his resolve to work for the Negro's freedom. As he concluded, the mourners, amongst whom were many clergymen from the surrounding region and a number of Negroes, filed silently out to enter carriages or to go afoot with the procession to Mount Auburn cemetery. Others of Torrey's friends stood at the church door and accepted contributions for the distressed widow and children.<sup>24</sup>

Torrey was no more, but his death—biggest news in the abolition crusade since the sacrifice of Lovejoy—brought a new climax to the movement. Sympathetic editors draped their pages in heavy black lines and presented the story under large headlines. Over and over they called him martyr. Abolition papers published

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, April 29, May 13, 20, 1846; *Liberator*, April 24, May 8, 1846.

<sup>24</sup> *Emancipator*, May 20, 27, 1846; *Baltimore Sun*, May 11, 18, 1846; Lovejoy, *op. cit.*, pp. 292-308.

reams of rhymed laments for Torrey. Americans held dozens of Torrey meetings. In New England they gathered in Assonet Village, in Lowell, and in Charlestown in his native state, as well as in Bangor, Maine. For some weeks after Torrey's death, Joseph C. Lovejoy repeated his funeral sermon to as many eastern congregations as would schedule him. Torrey's own minister reported on his last visit with the martyr. In Cincinnati Salmon P. Chase presided over a meeting which condemned Maryland's treatment of the dead man. General Samuel Fessenden of Maine presided at a Boston meeting in which Ellis Gray Loring, Francis Jackson, John G. Whittier, Henry B. Stanton, Walter Channing, and Joseph C. Lovejoy participated. Negroes at Oberlin College, a white group in Salem, Ohio, citizens in Galesburg, Illinois, met in their respective towns and approved his actions. Boston Negroes pledged to live in the sacred memory of his name. Some clergymen printed their Torrey sermons and offered the pamphlets for sale. Alvan Stewart wept for the martyr as he spoke before the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.<sup>25</sup>

Meanwhile, the martyr fund committee collected money for the family and for a suitable monument. Collectors worked in New England and farther west. Boston friends hired a minister, Hiram Cummings, to spend a short period during which he gave full time to money collecting in that vicinity. Abolition groups gave the contributions from the annual Independence Day anti-slavery programs. By mid-July the committee had over sixteen hundred dollars and was sending out request cards to be returned with money by early fall.<sup>26</sup>

It was a long time before the Torrey excitement abated. In January, 1849, Wendell Phillips, in reviewing Boston's local anti-slavery history, said, "Where is Park Street? Refusing to receive within its walls, for funeral services, the body of the only martyr the orthodox Congregationalists of New England have had, Charles T. Torrey, and of whom they were not worthy."<sup>27</sup> Maryland had helped provide the abolition movement with another martyr whose story became of great use in kindling anti-slavery zeal in the last years of the fiery crusade.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 297, 322, 325-328, 360; *Emancipator*, May 20, 27, June 3, 10, 17, 24, July 1, 8, 29, 1846.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, June 3, 17, 24, July 1, 8, 15, 29, August 26, September 9, 1846; *Liberator*, June 12, 1846.

<sup>27</sup> Carlos Martyn (ed.), *Wendell Phillips, the Agitator* (New York, 1890), p. 219.



# GILMOR'S FIELD REPORT OF HIS RAID IN BALTIMORE COUNTY

Edited by GEOFFREY W. FIELDING

SEVERAL papers of Lt. Col. Harry Gilmor, the Maryland-born Confederate cavalry officer, famous for his constant harassing of Union troops during the Civil War, have been acquired by the Maryland Historical Society.\* They include a ten-page report of Gilmor's daring raid into Maryland as far north as the Gunpowder River in July, 1864; numerous letters from lady friends; a number of military communications and three letters from George P. Kane, Maryland's "most loyal rebel."

By far the most important is his report on his raid into Baltimore County, dated July 8, 1864, less than two weeks after the event. It is addressed to Captain G. W. Booth, assistant adjutant general to General Bradley T. Johnson, commander of the Maryland brigade of cavalry in the Confederate Army.

Actually the letter adds little to our present knowledge of the raid, gleaned, for the most part, from Gilmor's own book, *Four Years in the Saddle*,<sup>1</sup> and newspaper accounts.<sup>2</sup> But whereas the book was completed a year after the Confederate surrender at Appomattox, the letter retains the freshness of a campaign immediately recorded and committed to paper and posterity.

Also, whereas in the book Colonel Gilmor was compelled to withhold the names of many people connected with the raid, due to the bitter feeling still abroad, such was not the case in the letter. In the book, for instance, he mentions Captain Owings, his quartermaster, simply as Captain O———. In the same paragraph, he refers to H——— G———, probably his cousin, Hoffman Gilmor.

\* The manuscripts were purchased from a local dealer through the generosity of Mrs. Robert Gilmor and the Bradley T. Johnson Chapter, United Daughters of the Confederacy.

<sup>1</sup> (New York, Harper & Brothers, 1866), pp. 191-208.

<sup>2</sup> See Baltimore *American*, July 11, 12, 13, 14, 1864, and Baltimore *Sun*, same dates.

In other cases, however, reference to the book is required, to find out who did what and when. For instance, the one man killed during the raid is written off in the report with the following few words: "My loss during the whole trip was probably six men captured while straggling and one man shot by a Union man and mortally wounded while trying to pull down the United States flag which was over his yard gate." Devoting three paragraphs to this incident in the book, Gilmor tells us that the man killed was Sergeant William Fields of Baltimore, shot by a farmer, Ishmael Day, who managed to escape after the shooting.<sup>3</sup>

It might be well to mention the overall plan of the 1864 invasion of Maryland, so that one can more fully appreciate the part played by Colonel Gilmor and his small force. As General Jubal Early planned it, a large force of men was to cross the Potomac and endeavor to reach Washington, D. C. While this force was heading towards the Capital, a brigade under General Bradley T. Johnson was to push through New Windsor, Westminster, and Reisterstown and cut the railroad and telegraph from Baltimore to Harrisburg at Cockeysville.<sup>4</sup>

At this point, Gilmor was to detach himself and force his way with three hundred cavalry and two light field pieces to the Philadelphia, Wilmington, and Baltimore (later the Pennsylvania) Railroad at Magnolia. Here he was to cut the railroad and telegraph lines leading north. While Gilmor was carrying out his part of the plan, Johnson's brigade was to head across country to Beltsville and cut the railroad between Baltimore and Washington, and then drive to Point Lookout at the southernmost tip of St. Mary's county. There, keeping a rendezvous with an armed Confederate raider under the command of Captain John Taylor Wood, he was to release the ten or twelve thousand Confederate prisoners held there, and march back to Washington. These men would then be armed from the Union arsenals in the city of Washington.

All in all, only four days were to be allowed for the whole maneuver, from the time General Johnson detached his brigade from General Early's army near Frederick, until he was supposed to be in Washington with the released prisoners. As it was, Early

<sup>3</sup> See *American*, July 13, 1864, p. 1, col. 7; *Sun*, July 13, 1864, p. 2, col. 1.

<sup>4</sup> See J. A. Early, *Lieutenant General Jubal Anderson Early C. S. A.* (Philadelphia, Lippincott, 1912), pp. 380-395; also his *Memoir of the Last Year of the War for Independence in the Confederate States* (Lynchburg, 1867), pp. 61-62.



defeated General Lew Wallace at the Battle of Monocacy (but was delayed in doing so) and then headed towards Washington. Johnson moved across country and reached Cockeysville in Baltimore County, where he cut the railroad tracks and telegraph. From there, he headed towards Beltsville, while Colonel Gilmore carried out his part of the campaign with a cavalry force numbering only 135 men and no field pieces!

Johnson camped overnight at the "Caves," the home of John Carroll, in the Green Spring Valley. While there, a scout brought word that all available transportation of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad was concentrated at Locust Point, and that the Nineteenth Corps and part of the Sixth Corps were on transports from General Grant's army, and were expected hourly. This intelligence was immediately forwarded to General Early, who was then closing in on Washington, and Johnson headed towards Beltsville on his way to Point Lookout.

The following morning, while moving south towards Upper Marlboro, a courier from General Early overtook Johnson with orders for him to report at once to General Early at Silver Spring. This General Johnson did, and he found the whole of Early's force in retreat. Late the previous day, General Early had reached the barricades erected around Washington with an Army almost worn out from fighting and the long march. Because of this, he delayed the attack until the following morning. When it was light enough to see, General Early found the defenses lined with troops, presumably those from General Grant's army, and decided to give up all hope of capturing the city. It was a hard decision to make, but one which no doubt saved countless lives.

The army was harried during its retreat through Rockville to Poolesville, but the enemy was held in check until General Early had recrossed to the Virginia shore.

After the invasion, General Robert E. Lee claimed that the cutting of the railroad and telegraph lines between Baltimore and Philadelphia was the only part of the Maryland campaign that was carried out successfully.<sup>5</sup> Gilmore claims that with just a few more men, he could have taken Baltimore easily. General Early regretted that a full brigade had not been put at Gilmore's disposal.<sup>6</sup>

With this brief background, one can more readily understand the reasons behind the Maryland invasion of 1864 and the part

<sup>5</sup> Gilmore, *op. cit.*, pp. 204-205.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

which Gilmor so ably played and describes in his report to Captain Booth, which is as follows:

Hd. Qtrs. 2nd. Md. Cavalry,  
28th. July, 1864.

Captain:

In accordance with an order just rec'd from Brigade Hd Qtrs, I have the honor respectfully to report, that after the destruction of the bridges on the Northern Central R Rd <sup>7</sup> by Johnson's brigade on the 11th July I was ordered by the Brig Gen. Comdg.<sup>8</sup> to select one hundred men from my own, and 1st Md Battalion and make an effort to destroy the bridge over the Gunpowder on the Phila, Wilmington and Baltimore railroad.<sup>9</sup> Accordingly, I took all of my own com'd present with serviceable horse and fifty of the 1st Md under command of Lt. W. H. Dorsey (Co D)<sup>10</sup> and in all one hundred and thirty-five men, and leaving Cockeysville took the road towards Baltimore, and followed that direction as far as the toll gate near Timonium on the N C R Rd. Here I turned to the left and moved on a country road Striking the *Old* York Road at Mr. Ridgely's place (Hampton) 9 miles north of Balto, where I again turned to the North and followed the pike to the Gunpowder river which I crossed & moved in a north-easterly direction through "Dulaney's [*sic*] Valley" to a point about (4) four miles north of the Gunpowder where I turned to the right & crossed the ridge into "Long Green Valley" where I encamped for the night on the estate of Mr. Joshua Price. Starting at sunrise next morning I took a direct course to the Gunpowder river at Magnolia, destroying the Telegraph lines on the Harford, Belair, and Philadelphia pikes and arriving near the Philadelphia rail road about 9½ o'clock on the morning of the 12th. On getting near the railroad I took twenty men & moved very rapidly down to the station to secure the telegraph operator & had scarcely arrived before a train was heard coming, which was boarded as soon as it arrived at the Station and secured.

The pasengers & prisoners, were made to leave the train and it was fired for the purpose of being run up to the Bush river bridge but after starting the fires it was discovered that the engineer had not only been allowed to escape, but had done something to the machinery & made it impossible to start the engine therefore was obliged to let the train burn where it stood at the station. The conductor of this train informed me that another train would soon be there and after disposing some sharp shooters along the the track we had not long to wait. This train was taken some distance below where the first was stopped & consisted of 12 cars in all, filled with passengers & some few officers, & Soldiers. As soon as I had captured the second train, I sent Capt. Brewer <sup>11</sup> down

<sup>7</sup> Now the Pennsylvania Railroad.

<sup>8</sup> Bradley T. Johnson.

<sup>9</sup> Now the Pennsylvania Railroad.

<sup>10</sup> Company "D," First Maryland Cavalry.

<sup>11</sup> Not further identified. W. W. Goldsborough, *The Maryland Line in the Confederate Army, 1861-1865* (1900), p. 241, states that he could not find a muster



the track with a flag of truce to demand the immediate surrender of the bridge but the reply was that they were not yet ready! While Capt. Brewer was gone I had the train fired & this time took good care that the engine should be kept under a head of Steam sufficient to run her back on the bridge. While we were setting the train on fire & Capt Brewer was returning from the bridge I sent Capt James Bailey<sup>12</sup> with thirty men to drive the Yankee infantry from the bank of the river, out on the bridge, but ordered him to keep his men scattered to prevent the Gun Boat<sup>13</sup> from doing any harm. Capt. Bailey Showed his force & that was Sufficient, for the Federals soon started out on the bridge to the Gun Boat, but before they got more than  $\frac{1}{4}$  mile from the shore, the burning mass was backed down on them and they were obliged to jump overboard to keep from being burned, how many were drowned I cant say but as the life boats from the Gun Boat were some time getting there I have no doubt half of them went to the bottom. Hope so at least. Having Started the train with a very light head of Steam I had the satisfaction of seeing her stop directly on the drawbridge which was the most important part of the bridge and which was totally destroyed with a *very* large portion of the bridge both East and West of the draw.<sup>14</sup> There was some twenty or thirty officers on board but as all were either on sick leave or discharged, I brought out only five, four besides Maj. Genl. [William B.] Franklin who had been wounded in the Red river expedition, in the lower part of his leg. Having destroyed everything around the station belonging to the rail road including two trains & three engines, I sent a Messenger to the Gun Boat with a communication to the Comdg officer giving him permission to come ashore and take off all the passengers that we had detained. I would here state and if necessary will make affidavit to the fact that not one single citizen complained to me of having been robbed of any thing, nor were any of the prisoners robbed except in one instance and then he failed to recognize the man whom he said had robbed him of \$800. All the bagage was piled at the side of the track & a guard furnished the Bagage Master who delivered to each what he or she had a check for. I left the rail road at 4 o'clock P. M. and getting on the Philadelphia Pike moved towards Balto until I got to the 12 mile stone where I took a country road and Struck across for Towson Town on the York road 7 miles from Baltimore. Here I intended to halt and feed but had hardly posted my pickets before they were attacked & driven in by a cavalry force coming from towards Baltimore. I at once put 12 men under Capt. N[icholas]. Owings Q[arter] M[aster] of my Batn [Battalion] in charge of the prisoners & having indicated to Capt. Owings the road I wished him to take was obliged to turn the head of my small command down the road to meet the Federal Cavalry which was right

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roll of Gilmor's battalion. It was said that Gilmor was as likely to use his own commission to light his pipe as to preserve or take any care of it!

<sup>12</sup> Not further identified.

<sup>13</sup> The *Juniata*.

<sup>14</sup> It was not until July 24 that train service was restored between Baltimore and Philadelphia.

before me driving my pickets before them. With a Strong yell we charged down on them though it was so dark we could not see a man of them and after a short stand, they broke in confusion & went back towards Balto as hard as they could run. We followed them closely until within 4 miles of Balti but when we left they were still running as hard as they could. I then hauled off & returning to Towson Town took a westerly direction crossing the Northern Central rail road at Rider's Switch <sup>15</sup> and striking the Reistertown pike at Owings Mills.<sup>16</sup> It was near this place that I over[took] Capt. Owings's party & found every man asleep and the Maj Genl gone. The men were so much exhausted that it was unf[air to ask them to keep awake] <sup>17</sup> I could not d[o it] <sup>17</sup> myself and found myself continually falling asleep and my horse slopping in a fence corner. I searched for the General for at least three hours and then went in to camp on the farm of Mr. Oliver on the western side of the Reisterstown road near Pikes Ville at daylight which is 8 miles from Balto. I had scarcely slept an hour before I was awakened and told by a citizen, who came for the purpose, that there was about one hundred yanks cavalry & Union League men in the woods about a mile from Mr. Olivers on the East Side of the Reisterstown pike.

I immediately sent off all the weakest horses in charge of Capt. Redman Burke <sup>18</sup> with the 4 prisoners still in my possession and taking 50 men went after the party in the woods which had gone a short time before we got there. I then went in to Pikesville and sent ten men toward Balto to the "7 mile house" under Sergt Travers,<sup>19</sup> who ran off the pickets stationed at that place & drove them to within three miles of the City and returned at his leisure to Pikes Ville where we staid until 3 o'clock P. M.

After leaving Pikes Ville we marched to Randallstown & thence to Poolsville [and keeping to] the way roads to keep from running into enemy cavalry which had advanced above Rock Ville. A few hours after my arrival on the pike near Poolsville the Yankees had advanced to that place in large force. At that point I joined my brigade & reported to Brig. Gen. Johnson.

During the whole time, and under the most trying circumstances both men & officers behaved with coolness skill and courage and though they suffered very much from loss of sleep & could scarcely sit on their horses they were always obedient.

My loss during the whole trip was probably 6 men captured while

<sup>15</sup> Now Riderwood.

<sup>16</sup> Actually he reached the Reisterstown pike about two miles further south, near Trentham, family home of the Cradocks.

<sup>17</sup> Bracketed words give the apparent intended sense. The letter is torn at this place.

<sup>18</sup> Not identified. Captain Nicholas Burke, Company "A," and Captain John Burke and First Lieutenant Polk Burke, Company "D," Second Maryland Cavalry, are listed by Goldsborough, *op. cit.*, pp. 246-247.

<sup>19</sup> Probably Alonzo Travers, First Sergeant, Company "A," 2nd Maryland Cavalry.



straggling & one man <sup>20</sup> shot by a union man <sup>21</sup> & mortally wounded while trying to pull down the United States flag which was over his yard gate. this man escaped but I caused every building on his place to be burned to the ground.

These are the main facts and nothing else of importance having taken place I beg leave to suscribe myself,

Yours with respect

H. W. Gilmor

Maj. Comdg. 2nd. Md. Cav.

To Capt. G. W. Booth <sup>22</sup>  
Assistant adjutant general  
Johnsons Cavalry

<sup>20</sup> Sergeant William Fields, Company "C," Second Maryland Cavalry.

<sup>21</sup> Ishmael Day. See Note 3.

<sup>22</sup> George W. Booth, who was successively First Lieutenant, Company "D," First Maryland Infantry; Assistant Adjutant, First Maryland Cavalry (November, 1862); and Captain (November, 1863).

## REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

*Maryland in World War II. Volume II: Industry and Agriculture.* Prepared for the State of Maryland by the War Records Division (HAROLD R. MANAKEE, Director) of the Maryland Historical Society. Baltimore, 1951. xi, 594 pp. \$3. (by mail \$3.25; Md. sales tax 6¢ extra).

This book on industry and agriculture is the second in the projected series of four volumes to be published under the general title of *Maryland in World War II*. The earlier volume dealt with the State's military participation. Volume III will cover such homefront activities as civilian defense, the Red Cross, and the USO, while Volume IV will contain the honor roll of Maryland citizens who died in the service of their country.

Although the 594-page volume of industry and agriculture is divided into six parts, more than 80 per cent of the entire book is included in Part Three, which is given over to a company-by-company description of the individual accomplishments of some 900 Maryland firms that were engaged in war work of one kind or another. The majority of these concerns were manufacturers, but some steamship lines, railroads, public utilities, contractors, wholesalers, and trucking companies were also listed.

This section of the book, which is arranged in alphabetical-geographical order, brings to life the summary statistics given on page 564 regarding the five-and-a-half billion dollars in supply and facility contracts that were allocated to Maryland during World War II. As much of the information incorporated in Part Three consists of hitherto unpublished material obtained by means of special questionnaires, it constitutes the only basic reference work in this field. Nothing comparable to this presentation is available for any previous wartime period.

Part Two comprises a brief analysis, with some amplification, of the figures given in the table on page 564, while Part Four discusses the war activities undertaken in Maryland by a number of out-of-State firms.

The chapter on agriculture (Part One) gives a comparatively short but highly interesting account of the many contributions made by the farming community to the State's war effort. The wartime operations of the Port of Baltimore are described in the thirteen pages of Part Five, with some attention being given to both the permanent and the emergency port agencies.

The role of Federal agencies in Maryland during the war is reviewed in Part Six. The scope of this section, however, is restricted to such non-



military agencies as the Office of Defense Transportation, the Baltimore Branch of the Federal Reserve Bank of Richmond, the War Manpower Commission, and one or two others.

It would have been desirable if some of the shorter chapters had been given more extended treatment, but the general plan of the book and the resulting limitations of space probably prevented a fuller discussion of all the major subjects mentioned.

From an overall standpoint, Mr. Manakee and his associates have done an excellent job in selecting the material to be presented from the great mass of data that had been assembled by them. Although an occasional minor error was detected by this reviewer, it is apparent that the task of editing and proofreading has been done in a very careful manner. The book is enlivened by the inclusion of 56 pages of halftones, embracing well over 100 individual illustrations. The usefulness of the volume for reference purposes is further enhanced by the 23 appendices which contain pertinent statistics, lists of names, and other helpful tabulations.

Even a casual examination of the book will demonstrate its unique value as a convenient source of information for teachers, research workers, and other individuals who are concerned with Maryland's industrial and agricultural activities during World War II.

Written in easy-to-read style, this volume not only fills the need for a comprehensive picture of local industrial and agricultural developments during the recent wartime period (1939-46), but also represents an important contribution to the growing body of literature on the economic history of Maryland.

W. S. HAMILL

*The Western Maryland Railway Story.* By HAROLD A. WILLIAMS.  
Baltimore: Western Maryland Railway, 1952. 134 pp.

This short history of the Western Maryland Railway, on the occasion of the company's one hundredth anniversary, is both attractive and highly interesting. The volume is an example of outstanding typography as well as fine bookmaking. The illustrations, particularly the contemporary photographs by A. Aubrey Bodine, are fully in keeping with the top character of the presentation.

The text is a well written account of the founding, the early and later struggles, and the major accomplishments of the Western Maryland Railway. The author, who has obviously done much original research, has wisely tried to confine himself to various highlights in the company's history or the text would have bogged down in a mass of material in regard to changing plans, changing ownerships, and violent public controversies which have no current interest to the general reader. As an example of well designed efforts to attract reader attention the author has devoted one of the ten chapters to "When Lincoln Went to Gettysburg"

although only a comparatively short portion of President Lincoln's rail route later became the property of the Western Maryland.

The chapter titled "Summertime in the Blue Ridge," with the background of which this reviewer is particularly familiar, presents, with few exceptions, a thoroughly satisfactory and interesting picture of a long extended but bygone era when hundreds of thousands each year went mountainward, for the day or the season, via the Western Maryland Railway.

The preface, by Eugene S. Williams, Chairman of the Board, is most informative and useful as it at least mentions a number of later important executives of the railway whose names, on account of space requirements, do not appear in the text. The book is so uniformly excellent that the lack of an adequate map is the sole regret.

H. FINDLAY FRENCH

*Virginia's Eastern Shore.* By RALPH T. WHITELOW. (Edited by GEORGE CARRINGTON MASON.) Richmond: Virginia Historical Society, 1951. 2 vols. \$17.50.

Northampton and Accomack Counties, separated from the rest of Virginia by the breadth of the Chesapeake and contained to the East by the Atlantic, have enjoyed until recently a remarkable geographic isolation. While many of the sons and daughters of this genial peninsula followed the westward trend, often to win distinction, there has always been a goodly number who realized the blessings nature had showered on them and stayed at home to pass on their fertile acres from father to son. In this quiet and most beautiful backwater tradition crystallized undisturbed; a gracious architecture developed; people tended to become highly individualized, with a gift for swift humorous conversation; time and hard work were put in their proper place.

The existence of this pleasant way of life has now become known to a small group—distinct from that vast floating body of Americans whose cars whirl them about in search of the quaint and picturesque—who question the values of the Machine Age and seek to escape them by a more or less reasoned return to the past. These people, now taking over many old estates on the Virginia Eastern Shore, tend to become fascinated by the traditions of their newly-bought acres, and often seek to assimilate themselves with them. They have powerfully reinforced the demand long felt by students of American history for a first-rate chronicle of this interesting region.

This demand has been splendidly met by the late Mr. Ralph T. Whitelaw in a monumental two-volume work sponsored by the Virginia Historical Society. The project was begun in 1935 in close collaboration with Miss Anne Floyd Upshur. Starting modestly with the taking of snapshots of old houses, the interest of the collaborators became more deeply



engaged. "There came," says Mr. Whitelaw, "an insatiable desire to know more about these houses; what was the history of each site, who had lived there, when were the houses built, and by whom? Traditions were interesting, but often unreliable, so a search of old records started . . . the result of this is a story of the land and its owners rather than the usual chronological history of its economic and social development."

This basic concern with the land was never abandoned by the collaborators, whose patience and thoroughness is measured by the fact that 896 separate patents were examined. In this work they were greatly aided by the fact that Northampton County (and Accomack, which was one with Northampton until 1663) possess what are believed to be the oldest county records in the United States, the first recorded court meeting being dated January 7, 1632. For more than a century the books were kept in private homes and their survival is a miracle. Survive they did, however. The problem of simplifying and making accessible the involved mass of detail rising out of this research was a formidable one, adequately met by the use of patent maps of each County with a number series and letter symbols indicating buildings and historical sites. While one is a bit dismayed, on first opening the volumes, by these intricacies of reference and indexing, further acquaintance will convince the student that the mechanism devised by Mr. Whitelaw is the best possible one for making available the subject in which he is most interested.

And with that further acquaintance, what a wealth of fascinating detail is revealed! Again and again the collaborators provide in a few terse paragraphs material for a whole historical novel, characters and background included. There is the story of Mrs. Ann Toft, mistress of the plantation "Gargaphia," with her many marriages and her three daughters Arcadia, Atalanta, and Annabella. There is the Indian Debedeavon, "the Laughing King," whose tragi-comic figure comes in sight with the discovery, many years after, in the garden of a house he was known to have visited, of a curious gold ring engraved with bow and arrows. The furious quarrels of John Custis IV and his wife receive attention; astonishing epitaphs are taken from remote burying grounds; the personalities of great trees, like the incredible hackberry at Pear Plain, are saluted in passing; a wealth of architectural information is made available, to a running accompaniment of good informal illustrations.

In short, if the duty of a reviewer is, in part, to search out the flaws in the book before him, Mr. Whitelaw has provided few opportunities for attack. It has been suggested, perhaps with justice, that so comprehensive a history should have shown greater concern with the fauna of the region. The thought also occurs that this history of Accomack and Northampton is a valedictory to a charming way of life, to whose passing Mr. Whitelaw gives impetus by his book. Its size, its price will keep it from wide distribution, but it is certain to fall into the hands of people whose vague designs on the Eastern Shore will be galvanized into action by these fascinating volumes.

J. GILMAN D'ARCY PAUL

*Virginia Venturer: A Historical Biography of William Claiborne, 1600-1677.* By NATHANIEL C. HALE. Richmond: Dietz Press, 1951. xiv, 340 pp. \$5.

The William Claiborne who emerges from this portrait is an enterprising trader, a daring and impulsive individual whose personality and motives are clear-cut and consistent. The picture includes his English background and his public life in Virginia as Company Surveyor, Royal Secretary and Treasurer of the Colony, Parliamentary Commissioner, Burgess, Councillor, soldier, merchant venturer and landed gentleman. There is glamour and excitement in the story of the fight for a monopoly of the Indian trade in the Chesapeake, centering in the control of Kent and Palmer's islands. Supported by hardy frontiersmen who were his devoted followers, he three times invaded Maryland and fought Baltimore's agents there for two decades; at court, supported by William Cloberry and Company and Virginia's colonial agents, he fought Lord Baltimore himself. He survived the changing regimes in Virginia for half a century because he was never an extremist except in his opposition to the Calverts, and since he identified his own business interests with those of Virginia, he usually had the support of the government at Jamestown.

Colonel Hale has written a life-and-times study which he calls a "historical biography" because of the disproportionate amount of emphasis on background influences. It would have been a conventional biography, a better balanced and more interesting book, if he had used broader strokes in painting the background of events in Virginia and in England during Claiborne's boyhood. The author shows an intimate knowledge of Claiborne as he is revealed in the extant records; though hampered by the absence of personal papers of any sort, the skillful use of documentary sources produces a convincing and colorful story. Since Claiborne's first interest was trade, the history is written with a strong commercial emphasis; it plays down other motives and distorts the background, which constitutes a third of the book. The shifting alignments and conflicting interests at court and in Virginia and Maryland are handled with admirable dexterity, however, and there are vivid descriptions of the locale, naval engagements in the Chesapeake, and identifying thumb-nail sketches of the other actors on the scene.

*Virginia Venturer* is a provocative book, for the reader would like to argue the point with the author on each successive controversial issue in an age that was controversial and is still interpreted from conflicting viewpoints. For this reviewer, the arrangement within the chapters of sub-heads which should be suggestive or stimulating is only provoking, as is the bibliography, which is merely an alphabetical, uncritical list. The narrative itself, however, seldom provokes the reader; the story moves with increasing acceleration, and the author shows no reluctance to reach a conclusion and no tendency to hedge on any point.

JANE CARSON

*Institute of Early American  
History and Culture*



*Der Ewige Traum* [*The Eternal Dream*]. By JOSEF FEIKS. Zurich: Benziger Verlag, 1950. 375 pp.

The prominent role played in recent years by this country has attracted the attention of many foreign writers, particularly historians and novelists. Their interest does not only extend to modern times, but to the very inception of this country's history, as evidenced by this novel.

The author of *Der ewige Traum*, Josef Feiks of Vienna, portrays in his historical novel the first Lord Baltimore (George Calvert) and the preparations for his projected journey to the New World. The novel gives evidence of intensive historical studies in the preparation of this book.

The character of Lord Baltimore as depicted in this novel follows quite faithfully the facts known to the historian. Baltimore appears as a man of determination, decision, and vision, cherishing his "eternal dream" for the New World which was to bring liberty to the oppressed and persecuted of an old and unhappy Europe. Even though it was not to be his privilege to establish on the American continent a new way of life, still he made the necessary preparations for an expedition which ultimately brought his son Leonard and an enthusiastic group of colonists to these shores.

Prominent roles are also played in this novel by Baltimore's sons, Cecil and Leonard. Feiks introduces a love-motive by inventing the character of a Lady Mary. She appears at first as the fiancée of Cecil, and later on as being engaged to Leonard. Also interesting is the character of Baltimore's faithful old servant, William, another invention of the author.

Feiks deviates from historical facts when he comes to the end of his story: according to the author, Lord Baltimore died suddenly at the hand of an assassin, only a few moments after he had received the charter from the king. It is, of course, the privilege of a novelist to create characters and situations in order to present a complete picture of his story.

If this novel were translated into English, it could be enjoyed by many who admire Lord Baltimore's great enterprising spirit.

LEO A. BEHRENDT

*The Catholic University of America*

*Yankee Priest*. By EDWARD F. MURPHY. Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, 1952. 316 pp. \$3.50.

"It began normally enough that natal day of mine in Salem, Massachusetts, July 21, 1892, but before noon it went wild. A blaze leapt up in Mrs. Fogarty's downstairs tenement. . . ." So Father Murphy starts us off in his swift-paced anecdotal review of a busy, apostolic, and inspiring life filled with a great love of God and an equally warm affection for his fellow-men.

Marylanders will especially enjoy the author's recounting of his early

days at the old Epiphany College in the Walbrook section of Baltimore, and later at St. Joseph's and St. Mary's on Paca Street. Then, as a member of the Josephite Order, dedicated to work among the colored, he tells us of how initially discouraging was his work, but how much more heartening things now look. We find him at St. Barnabas' Church in Baltimore, and then in New Orleans as pastor of a church and professor at the great Catholic institution for Negroes, Xavier University. His vigorous mind, facile pen, and charming Irish personality brought him a host of famous friends and bring us a wealth of humorous and inspiring anecdotes about them. What if Father Murphy has Bishop Fulton J. Sheen coming from Wisconsin, and what if he sometimes taxes our credulity with the too neat turns to his every story? These are small flaws in a most enjoyable book.

For his grand work on behalf of the colored, and for a charming book, we repeat the unique Irish blessing of one of his friends, "Father dear, may you be in heaven half an hour before the Divvil knows you're dead."

GEORGE ZORN, S. J.

*Woodstock College*

*The Story of America's Oldest Museum Building.* By WILBUR H. HUNTER, JR. Baltimore: Peale Museum, 1952. [20 pp.].

Museum, City Hall, Bureau of Water Supply, factory, and again Museum—these are just some of the uses to which America's oldest museum building has been put. Known to the present generation as a treasure house of Baltimoreana, the Peale Museum and its history should be of interest to many. In his little booklet, Mr. Hunter has emphasized the Museum's beginnings under Rembrandt Peale. That gentleman's career, his painting, his financial struggles, his interest in science ranging from the skeleton of a mammoth to gas lights, is, indeed, the most interesting part of the building's history. The building in its various stages is described in some detail, from the original design down to the restoration that made the museum what it is today. While live animals are no longer a part of the exhibit and advertisements in the newspaper are no longer thought necessary, one has the feeling on reading this account that the city owes much to those public spirited citizens who were responsible for the return of the building to its original purpose.

*A School for Bishops.* By NELLIE W. JONES. Baltimore: 1952. ix, 150 pp. \$2.95.

The Church of St. Michael and All Angels is not an old one as Episcopal churches go in Maryland. The celebration in 1951 of the 75th anniversary of its establishment was the occasion for publishing this his-



tory. Mrs. Jones has given us a very readable story written in an unaffectedly reverent style. She has used the records of the parish effectively, and she received help from many persons (or their families) who participated in its activities. As four of the eight rectors of St. Michael and All Angels became bishops, the reason for the selection of the title is apparent. With regret one finds no index—against which possibility some law, canon or civil, ought to prevail.

*American Small Sailing Craft.* By HOWARD I. CHAPELLE. New York: Norton, 1951. xviii, 363 pp. \$7.50.

Mr. Chapelle is to be congratulated for an entertaining and at the same time highly useful account of American small sailing craft. His volume achieves several excellent purposes. It not only gathers together in one place a diverse and unique collection of boat designs, but provides, in addition, a series of accurate drawings complete with sail plans, hull dimensions and lines, and other significant details. While the drawings are necessarily small, being limited to the space of a standard book page, they are nevertheless sufficiently complete to enable anyone familiar with ship building practices to duplicate any of the boats presented either in model form or in full scale. With the drawings there is great deal of very informative text telling how the particular designs came into being, their history and original purposes, their faults and idiosyncracies, advantages and peculiarities.

There is an excellent and authoritative chapter on Colonial and Early American boats with much interesting information about the special conditions which brought about the creation of the special types. Marylanders and Chesapeake Bay enthusiasts will be particularly intrigued with the accounts of the Chesapeake Bay Log Canoes, with the development of the "Flattie," the skipjacks, and the V-bottomed Bay skiffs of which there were about fourteen distinct types produced in Chesapeake waters between 1890 and 1920.

The book is recommended for everyone interested in sailing craft or in the history of their development.

GILBERT C. KLINGEL

*Early American Architecture.* By HUGH MORRISON. New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1952. xiv, 619 pp. \$12.50.

Professor Morrison, of Dartmouth College, is internationally known to architectural historians for his brilliant study, *Louis Sullivan, Prophet of Modern Architecture*. His new book will bring him a host of admirers from several additional groups. All American antiquarians and all who are interested in regional studies of early American architecture, both

professionals and laymen, are under a great debt to him. Professor Morrison has brought together in one volume the results of forty years of scholarship on the part of scores of specialists who have been interested in American architecture, both locally and nationally, from its inception to the period of the Revolution. He has clarified, synthesized, and added his own penetrating observations and comment. This is a careful history of the development of Colonial building from its essentially mediaeval origins to the flowering of a national style in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. In addition there is a comprehensive survey of French and Spanish building, deriving primarily from Baroque prototypes, that flourished in the Mississippi valley, California, and the Southwest.

The scheme of the book presents a series of chapters on specific periods and geographical areas, with a detailed consideration following of individual structures. Naturally many local favorites are omitted, but all the really outstanding public buildings and private houses of America, before 1780, are here. In addition there are important remarks concerning many controversial subjects. The log-cabin myth is clarified; round-log houses were introduced by Swedes and Germans, and not used anywhere in the colonies before 1670. The extensive use of imported English brick is denied; bricks were made in Virginia as early as 1611 and in Maryland as early as 1639. Paint was not used on wooden exteriors until the early 18th century; conversely, paint was used on early furniture of the 17th and 18th centuries. The first sliding sash windows occurred in 1699 (in the Capitol at Williamsburg); before that time, and frequently afterwards, windows were small casements.

There is a valuable section on 17th century wooden construction, with illustrated (but not etymological) definitions of terms, many of which are still in current use. Marylanders will be pleased by the paragraphs on the important structures of the Annapolis area, and perhaps challenged by the statement that much more research needs to be done on William Buckland. Indeed, one of the stimulating effects of the book is the contrast existing between some topics that have been painstakingly and rewardingly explored by a handful of experts, and a number of other tantalizing problems that are waiting for similar intensive research by people who are, perhaps, unaware of the rich fields still to be explored in 17th and 18th century architectural history.

RICHARD H. HOWLAND

*Stiegel Glass.* By FREDERICK W. HUNTER. Introduction and Notes by HELEN MCKEARIN. New York: Dover Publications, 1950. xxii, 272 pp. \$10.

This unabridged edition of a book now rare enough to be a collector's item is well worth reading whether you are interested in early American glass, history, or good writing. Painstaking research often yields a dusty answer. Hunter, with faithful regard to documented proof, has given us a



human and readable story of Henry Stiegel and his times. We put the book down with the wish that the times could have dealt more kindly with this man of genius who came to seek his fortune in America and died broken in spirit and in poverty at the age of 56.

It was largely because of Hunter's zeal in bringing to light much data until 1911 unpublished that so much interest was aroused in the man and the beautiful glass he made in the 18th century. We are in Hunter's debt for the archaeological research performed at Mannheim, Pennsylvania, for glassmakers in America before Maryland's John Frederick Amelung did not mark or sign their pieces.

None knew better than Hunter that his was a pioneer work, and he would surely have welcomed the superb job Miss McKearin has done in bringing his book abreast of the times. Quick to admit she had the advantage of much research done since *Stiegel Glass* was published in 1911, Miss McKearin was equally quick to see that a word of correction or amplification here and there would add greatly to the value of this edition of the book. Hers must have been a work of love, and it gives us pause to wonder why many others must write with an acid pen when revising facts or judgments of those first in a field.

HARRIET N. MILFORD

*Yale University Portrait Index, 1701-1951.* [By ANNA WELLS RUTLEDGE]. New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1951. 185 pp. \$5.

This handsome volume furnishes a list of 1,108 portraits by 412 artists. As such it is a highly convenient book of reference for students of American art. It was John Trumbull whose portraits of 200 personages active in the American Revolution formed in 1831 the basis of the Yale collection. Many Marylanders appear in the various group portraits in which the Trumbull collection abounds. Others are included in the John Hill Morgan collection, a major accession in 1940. Among individual portraits of persons of Maryland birth or association are Charles Carroll of Carrollton by Sully, Jonathan Boucher by Daniel Gardner, William Buckland by C. W. Peale, Mrs. James Carroll by C. W. Peale, Mrs. Charles Carroll, Jr., by Trumbull, Robert Hanson Harrison by Trumbull, George Peabody by Huntington, Rembrandt Peale by James Peale, and William Strickland by Neagle. The painting of Washington's Resignation at Annapolis by Trumbull affords likenesses of a number of citizens of this state. The book abounds in excellent reproductions of paintings.

J. W. F.

*A Calendar of Ridgely Family Letters, 1742-1899, Volume II.* By LEON DE VALINGER, JR. and VIRGINIA E. SHAW. Dover: Public Archives Commission, 1951. 344, 37 pp. \$6.

In this second \* volume of their *Calendar of Ridgely Family Letters* the editors have adhered closely to the plan described and to the method developed in the first volume (1948). In three "chapters," respectively, are presented "abstracts" of the letters that make up the correspondence of first, Nicholas Ridgely (1762-1830), long Chancellor of the State of Delaware; secondly, Henry Moore Ridgely (1779-1847), Secretary of State of Delaware, Congressman, and in 1827, elected United States Senator; and, lastly, the children (with two exceptions) of Senator Ridgely. Abstracts of the letters in the correspondence of his daughter Ann, who became the wife of Charles I. duPont, and in that of his son Nicholas, will be included in the third and final volume of the *Calendar*.

Considered as a whole and judged by the abstracts, the correspondence here calendared is largely of family interest, replete with accounts of illnesses, with complaints as to neglected letter-writing, and with bits of personal news concerning relatives and friends. The correspondence of the Chancellor is meagre and unimpressive by reason, certainly, of the reported destruction of the bulk of his papers. Of Senator Ridgely's letters, sent or received, comparatively few have more than a personal or family interest. The best of his letters, of somewhat broader appeal, are those which he wrote from Washington, D. C. More fresh and unrestrained are some of the letters of his children. Maryland readers will be interested, for example, in young Henry Ridgely's letters written while he was a student at St. Mary's College in Baltimore, from 1832 to 1836.

The editors have provided a wealth of interesting explanatory matter, historical and genealogical, for the guidance of the reader. The techniques of calendaring are duly maintained. One regrets, on the other hand, to find more cases of insufficient revision and of defective proofreading than should mark a volume on which so much labor has been spent.

ST. GEORGE L. SIOUSSAT

*The Colonial Records of South Carolina. The Journal of the Commons House of Assembly, September 12, 1739-March 26, 1741.* Edited by J. H. EASTERBY. Columbia: The Historical Commission of South Carolina, 1952, xi, 613 pp. \$12.50.

The reviewer of the first volume of this series (*Md. Hist. Mag.*, XLVII [March, 1952], 75-76) commented at length on editorial policy, but two additional remarks now seem in order. First of all, the continued and increased support of the State of South Carolina augurs well for the

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\* The first volume was reviewed in *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XLIV (September, 1949), 213-215.



future of an excellent project. Second, the editor has added a brief "Explanation of the Index." This guide, explaining both the problems faced by the systematic indexer of official records kept by unsystematic clerks and the solution adopted for this index, will prove helpful to scholars using it as a research tool.

The dates of the volume coincide with the opening phases of the War of Jenkins' Ear in America. Since South Carolina, together with its new sister colony Georgia, lay close to the frontier of Spanish Florida, a good deal of the *Journal* is concerned with military measures. Unfortunately, South Carolina's costly participation in General Oglethorpe's abortive attacks on St. Augustine was only one "of a series of calamities. . . ." During these years, a slave uprising, an epidemic of smallpox, succeeded by another of yellow fever, and finally in November, 1740, a disastrous fire in Charles Town confronted the Assembly. Even more important than these difficulties were the problems of making representative institutions work in a frontier environment: the constant struggle of the Assembly to maintain a quorum, to deal simultaneously with provincial and local affairs, and even to make the public weal prevail over private will.

A brief review cannot do justice to the historical interest of this volume. The series as a whole will enrich the history, not only of South Carolina, but also of all 18th century America.

JOHN M. HEMPHILL, II

*Colonial Williamsburg*

*Rag, Tag and Bobtail: The Story of the Continental Army 1775-1783.*

By LYNN MONTROSS. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1952. 519 pp. \$5.

The 18th century, as Mr. Montross points out, was a diary-keeping, letter-writing age, and the American Revolution was, of course, something to write home about. "Even so, it is a matter for everlasting wonder that so many active participants . . . managed to keep a record. . . ." Mr. Montross's painstaking study of historical society publications has revealed dozens of them, diaries, letter-books, and journals, skillfully excerpted for this book. Of course none of his authors—privates and generals, Hessians, French, British, and the Americans of the title—wrote in a vacuum; all of them necessarily lacked perspective and partook of the inherent faults of eyewitnesses. They are all still human. That is exactly what makes them so fascinating—and so valuable—to read.

As in *The Reluctant Rebels*, Mr. Montross's primary sources are fine. His secondary preparation has—again—been less than commendable; he is still about a generation behind in his background reading. Only nine of the seventy-eight books listed as Supplementary Sources are less than twenty years old. This is pretty much like practising medicine with reference to nothing but last generation's teaching; readers of history no less than patients are entitled to benefit by knowledge brought up to date.

Perhaps—as would certainly seem from such map titles as “The Tarnished Victory,” “To the Last Ditch,” and, so help me, “Storm of Steel”—a scholarly contribution was not intended. Certainly the enthusiasm, readability, and human interest of *Rag, Tag and Bobtail* should have great popular appeal.

ELLEN HART SMITH

*Valley Forge: The Making of an Army.* By ALFRED HOYT BILL. New York: Harper, 1952. 259 pp. \$3.75.

General George Washington had not come to the command of the Continental Army very well prepared for a fighting war; his military experience had not compassed much fighting. The young man who had found “something charming in the sound” of the bullets at Great Meadows had had to cope more often with the problems of desertion, of insufficiencies in pay and clothing and medicines and food, of rivalry among officers, and of frustration from the authority set over him. As Mr. Bill says, “his youthful employment on the Virginia frontier had hardened [him] to endure the extremes of privation, fatigue, and anxiety.” It prepared him, specifically, for Valley Forge.

Washington is the hero of this piece, which may be controversial in spots. It is always thoughtful and often distinguished. Relating Valley Forge to its causative factors as well as its effect on the evolving army, Mr. Bill has produced an entertaining and a scholarly book. (His details are fascinating; General Knyphausen, for example, “had the intriguing habit of buttering his bread with his thumb. . . .”) Perhaps it is putting it rather strongly to say that Germantown “hardly less” than Saratoga brought about the French Alliance; but of Mr. Bill’s accounts of the Conway Cabal and the Battle of Monmouth—where there is so much room for comparison—there can be no discussion, only praise.

E. H. S.

*The Extraordinary Mr. Morris.* By HOWARD SWIGGETT. New York: Doubleday, 1952. xix, 483 pp. \$5.

Gouverneur Morris, too-long obscured by the giants of his generation, deserved a biography. Patriot, financier, constitution-framer, diplomat—Morris played important roles during the pregnant decades of the American and French Revolutions.

Mr. Swiggett collected much new material for this first major study of Morris. The result is a rich, detailed mosaic of people, events, and places. Morris usually knew the people, participated in the events, and was familiar with the places. Unfortunately, the author chose to include items



which are, at best, of peripheral interest to the main subject. Morris becomes less distinct as the focus wanders from him.

The picture of Morris also suffers from the author's unrhythmical style. Miniscule paragraphs supply inadequate transitions from successive episodes. Nor would this reviewer agree with all the conclusions which Mr. Swiggett draws. Morris seems no less an "aristocrat" because he shared the tolerant deistic religious leanings of his time (p. 43).

But *The Extraordinary Mr. Morris* offers positive returns. Its intimate inquiry into Morris' public life and private amours presents a vivid picture of revolutionary America and France. Mr. Swiggett has made an important contribution to the literature of our history by assigning to Gouverneur Morris the importance he deserves.

HAROLD M. HYMAN

*Earlham College*

*Origins of The New South, 1877-1913.* By C. VANN WOODWARD.  
Baton Rouge: Louisiana State Univ. Press, 1951. xv, 542 pp.  
\$6.50. (Vol. IX, *A History of the South.*)

This book provides an interpretative framework for the history of the South from Reconstruction to the present day. It also signals the advance of its author to a position in the front rank of American historians. In a single year Professor Woodward has published two books which henceforth must be included in every list of basic works in American history. The first, *Reunion and Reaction: The Compromise of 1877 and the End of Reconstruction*, was a by-product of the work reviewed here. It provided for the first time a convincing explanation of the inside negotiations that led to the seating of President Hayes as a result of the disputed election of 1876—a subject that has been almost as much disputed among historians since then as it was by politicians at the time. This book is summarized in Chapter II of the present volume and offers the essential clue to a convincing interpretation of the much longer period.

This interpretation, briefly and necessarily oversimplified in a review, is that during most of the period since the Civil War the control of the government and economic policy of the South has been largely in the hands of conservative leaders—using appeals to the Lost Cause and white supremacy to enforce conformity and cover their activities—who have been the willing henchmen of Northern industrial and financial interests. This program they sincerely believed to be only solution for the tremendous problems and handicaps to which the section was heir, but at the same time they took care to extract personal benefits from it, not only as office holders but as agents, attorneys, and directors of the business corporations that built factories and consolidated railway systems. In 1877 some of these men flirted with the idea of joining the Republican party. The emotional residue of the Civil War and its aftermath in the end made this

open avowal impractical for practical politicians, but otherwise their actions led directly toward the Byrd-Taft coalition that is such a potent force in the American Congress of the present day.

Although this book stresses economic and political developments, it by no means neglects other aspects of the New South. The same unobtrusive interpretation goes far to explain social and cultural trends. It is a book rich with sidelights on every phase of Southern life. The author has built on the solid foundation provided by his biography of *Tom Watson* in dealing with the Populist movement and shows that the tendency of historians to deal with it as primarily a phenomenon of the new West is unjustified. Both the general reader and the scholar will find the book a succession of newly opened vistas.

Until a generation or so ago the history of the ante-bellum South suffered distortion from a combination of Southern romanticism and Northern abolitionism until such realists as Dunning, Dodd, Phillips, and Owsley began to readjust the picture. Now such younger scholars as Woodward and his colleague in political science, V. O. Key (until recently also a member of the Johns Hopkins University faculty) — whose *Southern Politics in State and Nation* constitutes something of a comparison volume, have gone far to correct misconceptions of the more recent period. Although he has worked his way through a staggering quantity of manuscript, documentary, periodical and other material, Mr. Woodward by implication invites other scholars to pursue their researches farther in the field. There is no question that he has provided a map and a compass to guide their studies.

WOOD GRAY

*George Washington University*

*James Parton: the Father of Modern Biography.* By MILTON E. FLOWER.  
Durham: Duke Univ. Press, 1951. ix, 253 pp. \$4.50.

In what manner James Parton was "father of modern biography" is less than clear after concluding Professor Flower's account of his life, but presumably it is in the combination of journalistic techniques with scholarly research for reaching a popular reading level. Parton gained fame in the 19th century for his biographies of Horace Greeley, Aaron Burr, Andrew Jackson, Benjamin Butler, Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin, and Voltaire. The biographies were widely praised for their readability, but it is also true that they were criticized for their lack of interpretation. They dealt more with the man than the issues of his times and brought the reader into contact with a personality instead of an intellect.

It is clear that Professor Flower has done an exhaustive amount of research on Parton's life, and either consciously or unconsciously has tried to imitate the style of his subject by presenting a genre kind of biography



with innumerable minutiae on Parton's daily living, not excluding the interior decoration details of Parton's study. The result is an internal biography of facts, full of repetition, bibliographical entries, and long quotations from letters which convey Parton's sentiments towards his friends. In fact, this reviewer found too much of the biography taken up with Parton's social life and benign statements about his felicity with family and friends while his role as "muckraker" and radical was passed over with perfunctory statements.

Professor Flower's biography will remain a useful compendium of information about Parton, but it throws little light on the history of the period in which Parton was so active. Those interested in Parton as a literary figure will find in this biography remarks that others made about Parton's work, but Professor Flower does not himself attempt to evaluate individual works and analyze Parton's influence in American literature. To say, as he does, that Parton "ranks high both as journalist and craftsman" is hardly satisfying to those who want to know more specifically how Parton was "father of modern biography." On the positive side, however, it can be said that Professor Flower has chosen a figure who has needed more attention, and has written his biography in a clear and simple style which is easy to read.

F. C. H.

*Conscripted City: The Story of Norfolk in World War II.* By MARVIN W. SCHLEGEL. Norfolk: Norfolk War History Commission, 1951. xi. 396 pp. \$3.

Since World War I Norfolk has been the home of numerous important installations of the United States Navy. Not always, however, have the city and the service existed in harmonious understanding. Many naval veterans still remember the extreme distaste with which they received Norfolk duty assignments and shamefacedly recollect the gob's designation of the town—an obscene epithet which a fifth-rate pulp magazine would censor. The feeling of Norfolk civilians for the Navy reflected an equal fervor. No respectable Norfolk girl would date a Navy enlisted man. Though the cash registers of business men merrily jingled to the tune of Navy money, their conservative owners eyed with distrust an organization which might well stow its gear and sail off almost overnight, as did the Headquarters of the United States Fleet in 1931. Local authorities frequently clashed with a national government agency over almost every service connected with urban living.

With such a background in mind one can easily imagine the strained relationships, frayed tempers and minor explosions which occurred when World War II caused the repeated and large-scale expansion of the naval operating base, the various training schools and the shipbuilding and repair facilities—to say nothing of additional national controls relative to

rent and price ceilings, rationing and civilian defense. Mass transportation, housing, labor supply, recreation, liquor regulation and vice control became urgent and often bitterly disputed problems which had to be solved. Because they were solved, both Norfolk and the Navy emerged from conflict wiser, friendlier, more cooperative and with better facilities for serving the people.

*Conscripted City* presents the detailed story of this change. Viewing his task in a detached manner, Dr. Schlegel has made his account inclusive, clear, well written and easily read. He has, perhaps, surpassed the previous high standards of Virginia's World War II history publication program.

HAROLD R. MANAKEE

*Hibernian Crusade, the Story of the Catholic Total Abstinence Union of America.* By SISTER JOAN BLAND. Washington: Catholic Univ. of America Press, 1951. ix, 297 pp. \$3.

Sister Joan Bland's meticulously detailed study of the crusade for total abstinence within the American Catholic Church throws new light on the religio-political significance of the temperance movement in American history. The "Hibernian Crusade" antedated the movement which culminated in the 18th Amendment; indeed, the two movements had surprisingly little formal contact. Both in influence and numbers, the Catholic Total Abstinence Societies reached flood tide before the turn of the century and had receded and disappeared before the heyday of the Anti-Saloon League.

The Catholic crusade for total abstinence was fostered mainly by the Irish branch of the Church—in its early phase by missionary priests with an humanitarian enthusiasm for the moral improvement of their fellows and by later Church leaders because it tended to diminish bigotry on the part of non-Catholics. It gave Irish minorities, particularly in Eastern cities, a means of identifying themselves with their communities and making common cause with their Protestant neighbors against the saloon keeper and the drunkard. Its achievements were twofold and measurable: attitudes were transformed within the Church toward the "vice of intemperance" and without the Church toward Catholics.

Eventually, however, it provoked a controversy within the American Catholic Church, with its uneasy amalgam of diverse cultural elements, and the controversy hardened into conflict when the total abstainers ceased to be satisfied with a moral attack on the demand for liquor and sought to make a political attack on the supply. This raised the issue of human freedom; the Church decided in favor of freedom. There is a revealing insight into the natural limits of group activities within the framework of an authoritarian institution.

LOUISE M. YOUNG



*With Rod and Transit, The Engineering Career of Thomas S. McNair.* By JAMES B. MCNAIR. Los Angeles: The Author, 1951, xv, 263 pp.

*With Rod and Transit* gives proper recognition to a significant, but, beyond Pennsylvania, relatively unknown engineer who without fanfare and publicity contributed to the construction and operation of canals, railroads, reservoirs, and coal mines in the Appalachian regions of Pennsylvania through map making, surveying, levelling, sounding, and other technical means. Moreover, McNair devised certain instruments and techniques which improved the mining industry such as the McNair Inclined Standard Mine Transit. The book traces the life of engineer McNair from his birth in 1824 in Pennsylvania, through his formal education, his civic, political, and masonic life, his engineering career, to his retirement and removal to California where he died in 1901.

The author includes in his work much illustrative material and lists McNair's comparatively extensive engineering and masonic libraries. Footnotes to each chapter are in the back of the book. Incidentally, most of the material referred to is now in the Henry E. Huntington Library in San Marino, California. The book is not indexed. The author, a scientist, does not attempt to make the work popular, and as a result the layman fails to see completely and appreciate fully Thomas S. McNair. Too, his chapters lack balance; for example, Chapter VII ("Engineering Career") is 126 pages while no other chapter exceeds twenty-five pages and two are less than ten pages in length. Despite these shortcomings, however, the work answers a felt need and is a significant addition to literature in the field of engineering and mining.

ROLAND C. MCCONNELL

*Morgan State College*

*The Daniels Family.* By JAMES HARRISON DANIELS, JR. Baltimore: The Author, 1952. 264 pp. \$5.

The compiler of this genealogy of the descendants of William Daniels of Dorchester and Milton, Mass., is not a genealogist by profession. In his preface to this book, the author describes the beginning of his interest in learning something about the history of his family. He recalls his personal visits to certain relatives in the Eastern States and finally his recourse to the services of a genealogist whose researches established the identification of his immigrant Daniels ancestor. With this as a beginning, the scope of the work expanded to include numerous other families that were descended from William Daniels, the immigrant to America.

The book is lavishly illustrated, including a "Daniels" coat of arms with crest and motto, taken from Burke's *General Armory* and Fox-Davies' *Families*. Heraldically described, it is as follows: *Argent, a pale fussyly sable*. Unfortunately, the artist has depicted a *pale lozengy*, which is quite a different device altogether. Under the stringent rules which

govern heraldry in respect of the right to use and display armorial bearings, it is doubtful whether this particular Daniels family is entitled to use coat armor.

FRANCIS BARNUM CULVER

*The Early Histories of St. Louis.* Edited by JOHN F. McDERMOTT. St. Louis Historical Documents Foundation, 1952. xi, 171 pp. \$4.

The St. Louis Historical Documents Foundation exists primarily for the publication of books which deal with the history of St. Louis and the West. To achieve that purpose, John Francis McDermott, the president of the Foundation, has compiled an edition which consists of seven of the basic accounts of the history of the city during the first 97 years of its existence. Several which he has included were by local authors while the remainder were by travellers who visited the area and left their impressions of it. This book brings together in one place for the first time these sources, long out of print, and represents a significant contribution of original materials.

In his introduction, the editor acknowledges the great debt which the historians of his city owe to Auguste Chouteau "the patriarch of St. Louis." His narrative, claims McDermott, is most essential, for it contains the most complete account of the establishment to the town. The other sources are also of importance, but they too must rely to a great extent on Chouteau.

This volume which was made possible through the fund established by Joseph Desloge is a fine example of a local history. For his end pages the editor has reproduced an early map which greatly enhances the value of the book. He has also included an introductory essay on the historical comments which appeared before 1860, the date of the publication of Edwards' *Great West*. Among these he notes the thorough study made by the Baltimore historian, J. Thomas Scharf. There is also a documentary chronology of the city from 1764 to 1821 as well as a selected list of references all of which are very helpful. After reading this volume, one wonders why such a Foundation could not be attempted in Baltimore. Certainly the publication of the writings of historians and travelers about that city could be just as valuable a contribution to local history as the present edition is to St. Louis.

FRANK F. WHITE, JR.

*Library of Congress*



## NOTES AND QUERIES

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### OTTO SUTRO AND MUSIC IN BALTIMORE \*

When, a good many years ago, I studied what my school called American history, I did so quite unaware that what I was expected to learn was only a part of that important subject. It was not until the approach of adult years that I realized the variety and interest of another sort of history—the history of culture, under which rather broad term I include besides the fine arts the history of tastes and ideas, the histories of science and business, even the record of such social trends and currents as we call, often with undue condescension, popular.

A great element in the usefulness of local historical societies such as ours is their devotion to this larger history—to the garnering and preserving of information about all aspects of a community's life, using material objects as well as manuscripts and printed sources.

We have met this afternoon to accept and discuss a particular contribution to our memorabilia of an interesting period in our City's history—that is, the quarter of a century following the war years of 1861-1865. In that period the larger cities to the north were swept into a surge of economic expansion in which they exploited new wealth above and under the ground in the fabulous commercial empire that awaited them in the West. New York City, already the unchallenged financial metropolis, speedily became a cultural center to which persons of wealth and leisure naturally gave preference. A contemporary estimate asserts that in 1875 not less than fifty-thousand visitors came to New York, many of them to spend the entire winter season. Meanwhile Washington leveled military barracks and hospitals, paved its muddy streets, and moved into a renaissance that made it not only the national capital but also a national social center.

To Baltimore a share in these gains in wealth and national prestige was denied by unique circumstances. From 1790 to 1860 its growth had been spectacular, carrying it from a town of less than 14,000 inhabitants to a thriving port of 212,000; Baltimore was, as Mr. Gerald Johnson has called it, "the financial, commercial, and social capital of the South." It had, however, the fate to be a border city in the strife between the sections, a house sharply divided in the war years and in those directly following the peace; and it suffered both material and spiritual damage from the ex-

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\* Remarks of Dr. John C. French at the opening of the Society's "Sutro-Wednesday Club" Room, February 23, 1952.

perience. This was our city's dark age, a time, to quote Mr. Johnson again, of "lethargy and physical deterioration."

Immediately after the peace her chief citizens recognized a two-fold task: to lift up the prostrate South, which it undertook generously by an immense relief fair that raised nearly \$165,000, and by an Agricultural Aid Society, that restocked ruined farms; and second, to find a restored civic unity. How it accomplished this latter task is a remarkable story.

It is nothing to wonder at that these years of painful readjustment should be remembered as the dreariest economic period in our history; but that they should also be the years of a notable flowering of cultural activity, particularly in music, is little short of amazing. By an impulse of resolute provincialism the citizens depended on neither metropolis nor capital city but on themselves; and found their own resources fruitful. Diverse elements shared in the effort: the numerous singing societies, which, in what were certainly hard times, had the courage to build and open for use the Concordia Opera House in 1866 and three years later to promote an elaborate national *saengerfest* in Schuetzen Park; the far-seeing citizens who gave the City Ford's Opera House and the capacious Academy of Music; the trustees of the Peabody Institute, who, when they prepared to open in 1868 what they then called an academy of music, determined in advance that it should not be merely a school for the elementary instruction of young ladies and in 1871 had the courage to call as its director the Danish composer Asger Hamerik; and finally those lovers of good music who united to promote the performance of the great oratorios and formed in the early eighties an incorporated Oratorio Society.

With full recognition of these and other groups, we turn this afternoon to the memory of one man who shared actively in many of the efforts which I have mentioned and whom we now recall specifically as the father of the Wednesday Club.

The Wednesday Club has been well described by Professor Charles R. Anderson, editor of the definitive edition of Sidney Lanier's works, as "a brilliant association of amateurs in music and dramatics that for more than a decade played a leading part in the cultural life of the City." Its founder, as also of the Oratorio Society, was Otto Sutro, whom our meeting today commemorates.

He was born in Aachen February 24, 1833, the son of Emmanuel and Rosa (Waredorf) Sutro. When as a child he showed evidence of talent in music his parents encouraged him and later enabled him to study at the Conservatory of Music in Brussels. He graduated with honors at the age of seventeen; and members of his family having previously come to Baltimore, he followed, arriving in February, 1851. The City Directory first mentions his name in 1858 and in that year describes him as a professor of music. Here also he was a church organist, playing in the choir loft of Trinity Protestant Episcopal Church.

In 1868 he opened at 189 West Baltimore Street a store devoted to music and musical instruments, including Chickering pianos. This store so prospered and expanded its activities and resources as to be in the front



rank of such establishments in the United States. When I came to Baltimore more than sixty years ago, I soon understood that Sutro's was synonymous with things musical.

In 1869 he married a Miss Handy of Mississippi and his bachelor quarters, for ten years a meeting place on Wednesday evenings for a group of his friends to whom "Wednesday Evenings at Sutro's" was a familiar phrase, were abandoned for a home on Lexington Street; and the group promptly organized itself into a club. Otto Sutro, a leader in matters musical and the center of a great circle of friends, died in 1896 on January 19. So ended a chapter in our cultural history.

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### OTTO SUTRO \*

After an absence of many years, mainly abroad, as the first "Duo Pianists," Rose and Otilie Sutro returned to their native town to place on record the nearly fifty years of their father's activities in the musical and cultural development of Baltimore. This was suggested by Mr. Clinton L. Riggs, then President of the Maryland Historical Society, Messrs. B. Howell Griswold, George May, and other prominent friends.

Mr. Sutro came to Baltimore in 1851 and immediately was appointed to important church positions as organist. His bachelor reunions continued for eleven consecutive years, evolved into the famous amateur music and dramatic Wednesday Club, which built its own club house. He founded and expanded the Otto Sutro Music House, and it became the most comprehensive one in the United States. He organized the Oratorio Society of Baltimore which gave yearly performances and annual May Festivals on a large scale. He created a Wagner Society for the better appreciation and understanding of the great master's dramatic works. By sponsoring musical and artistic events and encouraging aspiring young talent, his name soon became a household word.

Mr. Sutro's colleagues, all of whom his daughters had known since childhood, were no more, but their widows and descendants, many of whom had taken part in Club affairs were living. Their reminiscences, anecdotes, photographs and programs, added to Mrs. Sutro's, made it possible to complete an authentic and comprehensive history of the Club.

A provision in the will of Mrs. Otto Sutro made possible the equipping of the Sutro-Wednesday Club Room, in the Maryland Historical Society, one of the most artistic and interesting in the building, dedicated February 23 last, for the 100th anniversary of Mr. Sutro's coming to Baltimore. A detailed description is being prepared.

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\* This note was supplied by the Misses Sutro.

## HUGH JONES, COLONIAL ENIGMA

The Library has recently acquired a manuscript on the problem of the several clergymen by the name of Hugh Jones found in Colonial Maryland. The Reverend Herbert Leswing, rector of Trinity Church, Elkton, submitted this dissertation toward the degree of Master of Theology at the [Episcopal] Divinity School in Philadelphia.

Several authorities have attacked this problem previously, namely the Rev. Ethan Allen in his *Clergy in Maryland*, Hope Barroll in *Barrolls in Great Britain and America*, Gerald Fothergill in *A List of Emigrant Ministers to America, 1690-1811*, Armistead G. Gordon in "Hugh Jones" in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, Grace Warren Lendrum in the *William and Mary Quarterly*, January, 1950, and others who depended on these writers. Unfortunately, instead of solving the problem, each in turn has created a whole set of new inconsistencies. The Rev. Mr. Leswing has examined these articles, compared them with new sources available, mostly in the Hall of Records in Annapolis, and has produced what seems to this writer the most satisfactory answer to the confusion of names yet to appear.

Colonial Maryland seems to have been largely inhabited by men named Hugh Jones. The colonial records contain material which appears to have belonged to at least six of that name. Of these, three at least were clergymen of the Church of England and there has been considerable confusion about them.

This brief review cannot contain all the detailed evidence which Mr. Leswing has garnered, but he has proved that the first Reverend Hugh Jones came to Maryland in 1695 and became rector of Christ Church, Calvert County. He was interested in natural history, sent several collections of fossils to England, and had quite a correspondence with Englishmen and Welshmen. He had two brothers, the Rev. Richard of Llaneilian in Englesey, and John, a schoolmaster at Llandeilo-tal-y-bont, South Wales. His will and inventories, preserved in the Hall of Records, show him to have been rector of Christ Church, Calvert County, and to have been dead by September, 1702.

The second Reverend Hugh Jones (Leswing numbers them 1, 2, and 3 on the basis of their advent to Maryland) is one of the causes of confusion for he succeeded the Rev. Hugh Jones (1) in the same parish of Christ Church, Calvert County. The records prove conclusively that he came to Maryland in February, 1700/01, and his will, also found in the Hall of Records, shows him to have been rector of Christ Church, Calvert County, to have signed the will July 25, 1702, and to have had a different executor whose inventories show that he, too, carried out the provisions of the will.

Hugh Jones (3) of Cecil County (who should not be confused with either Hugh Jones (1) or Hugh Jones (2) as has been done previously by most writers on the subject) did not come to Maryland directly from Great Britain, but was for a time in Virginia as an instructor in William and Mary College and later as rector of a Virginia church. He does not



appear in Maryland records until 1726 and was not ordained priest until 1716. In a deposition taken in 1740 he certified that he was 49 years of age at the time. His will, signed a week before his death, is dated 1760. So that his age at the time of his death was not 91, as Allen and others who follow him have affirmed, but rather 69, a reasonably old age for those times.

Students of Maryland colonial history will be in Mr. Leswing's debt for years to come for his careful collection of available data on these three men and for his analysis of that material. This is the latest word on the subject, and requires that all previous material dealing with any Reverend Hugh Jones in Colonial Maryland be re-analyzed.

NELSON RIGHTMYER,  
St. John's Church, Worthington Valley

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### THE REVEREND PHILIP WILLIAM OTTERBEIN AND SUSAN LE ROY OTTERBEIN

Philip William Otterbein was Born June 3, 1726, at Dillenburg, Germany, in what is now the Prussian Administrative District of Weisbaden. He was the fourth of ten children of Johann Daniel and Wilhelmina Henrietta (Hoerlen) Otterbein and the elder of a pair of twins. He died in Baltimore, November 17, 1813. His father, grandfather, and five brothers were ministers. He was educated at the Reformed Seminary at Herborn where the calvinistic theological atmosphere was mollified somewhat by pietistic strains. On June 13, 1749, he was ordained as vicar of Ockersdorf, succeeding one of his brothers. His evangelical zeal and strictness were disliked by his superiors.

When Michael Schlatter went to Herborn to recruit missionaries for work in Pennsylvania, Otterbein was encouraged to volunteer. An incident connected with his mission is that one of his brothers, also a minister, received a letter from York County, pleading for people as sheep scattered in the wilds of the new world without a shepherd. He showed it to William and his mother, whereupon the pious woman, taking her son by the hand, said with as much fervor as a Spartan mother, "Go, my son and the Lord keep thee and bless thee, we may never meet again, but go." Having agreed, he set out for Pennsylvania, under the auspices of the synod of North and South Holland, arriving in New York, July 28, 1752.<sup>1</sup>

Later in the same year, he became pastor of the First Reformed Church at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, where his wonderful missionary spirit and powerful oratory were rewarded by having many eloquent laymen preach and exhort his doctrines. These new measures, borrowed from English Methodists, aroused opposition among the conservative members of his

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<sup>1</sup> John Gibson, *History of York County, Pennsylvania* (1886), p. 386.

own and other churches.<sup>2</sup> This antagonism may have been the reason for his leaving Lancaster in 1758 to accept other pastorates in the following places: Tulpehocken, Pennsylvania (1758-1760); Frederick (1760-1768); York, Pennsylvania (1768-1774); and the Second Evangelical Reformed Church in Baltimore (1774-1813).<sup>3</sup>

The Reformed Church in Baltimore soon possessed two congregations. The First, organized in 1756, worshipped in a building long known as the town clock church; while the Second, erected in 1786, on Conway near Sharp Street, a brick church that is the only 18th century public building of any note left standing in Baltimore. To this latter church came the Reverend Philip William Otterbein as pastor in 1774. He was a man of evangelical fervor who adopted many of the Methodist methods, but the bar of language was sufficient to prevent him or his followers from entering the Methodist Church. His followers and those of Martin Boehm (born in Lancaster, November 20, 1725; died March 23, 1812) met near Frederick in 1800 and organized a new denomination, the United Brethren in Christ.<sup>4</sup> The first Bishops of the new denomination were Otterbein and Boehm.

Philip William Otterbein married on April 19, 1762, at the First Reformed Church in Lancaster, Susan Le Roy of that city, whose sister, a few years later, married John William Hendel. His wife's death, April 22, 1768, was a grievous loss, and he never remarried. While the essential facts of Otterbein's life and career are readily accessible, little is known of Susan Le Roy Otterbein. She was a daughter of Abraham Le Roy who arrived in Philadelphia, in 1754.<sup>5</sup> The proof of her parentage is found in Intestate Records of Lancaster County, Miscellaneous Book, 1763-1767, pages 73 and 74, wherein, at Orphans' Court, held May 9, 1764, her eldest brother, Abraham Le Roy, Jr., petitioned the Court for a settlement of his father's estate stating that Abraham Le Roy, of Heidelberg Township, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, was of Huguenot descent; died intestate prior to March 5, 1763; wife was Anna Maria Le Roy and named all of his children. One was Susan Maria Le Roy, wife of William Otterbein, founder of the United Brethren Church.

Another confirmation is found in the will of Abraham Le Roy, Jr., dated February 9, 1765; probated February 25, 1765, on record in Will Book, B, Vol. 1, page 545, also in Lancaster. This is a long will, so only pertinent facts will be quoted: "One share to my sister Susanna Oderbein, wife of William Oderbein. Item: I order and direct that the remainder of my estate, both here in the Province of Pennsylvania and in De Soncebozen Erquel Evéches de Basle en Suisse and elsewhere be divided into four parts. . . . Power of Attorney or whatever may be necessary to

<sup>2</sup> *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, X, 504, XXI, 137.

<sup>3</sup> *Dictionary of American Biography*, XIV, 107.

<sup>4</sup> Missionaries in Puerto Rico call it "Hermanos Unidos in Christo." See B. C. Steiner, "Maryland's Religious History," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXI (1926), 16.

<sup>5</sup> Strassburger and Heinke, *Pennsylvania German Pioneers*, I, 631-634.



settle my estate in Switzerland." Executor—Paul Weitzel; Executrix—Sister Salomea Le Roy.<sup>6</sup>

In order to indicate where this family came from before landing at Philadelphia, the following is quoted:

"Another family of Le Roy, of the Elector of Bayeux, whose nobility has been authentically recognized at different epochs, first by the decision by the Cour des Aides, of March, 1494, and next in 1666. It furnished a great number of officers of all ranks, and of Chevaliers of Saint Louis. As a result of the wars of religion, one of its members, having embraced Protestantism, was constrained to take refuge in Switzerland to escape persecution directed against his and other members of his religion. The proof which this house furnished in 1737, before d'Hozier, Judge of Arms of France, seems to take descent to Gilbert le Roy, Equerry. He is the known author of the three branches of the family which are known: That of Seigneurs d'Amegny—extinct about 1720; that of Le Roys de Gue, extinct as of 1760 and that of the Lords of Sonceboz, in Switzerland, which has continued until our days. This branch had for its author; Jacques Le Roy, Equerry, the fourth son of Charles, Lord of Amigny and of Marie de Champgrin. He took refuge in Switzerland to escape religious persecution and left five sons, whose posterity still exists in our day. The head of the house is known as Ulysse le Roy."<sup>7</sup>

Jean Jacques Le Roy, arrived in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, on the *Phoenix*, November 22, 1752. He was killed by Delaware Indians, October 16, 1755. His daughter Anna Maria Le Roy was captured by Indians, escaped, and after her marriage, with her husband, gave Power of Attorney to a friend to collect their share of an estate in the Dominion of the Bishop of Basel, Switzerland.<sup>8</sup>

ROBERT M. TORRENCE,  
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## AN OLD HOUSE FADES AWAY

Maryland's remaining Colonial buildings were reduced by one more when "Widow's Neglect" on the Defense Highway, west of Lanham, was demolished late in 1951. There were probably as many as 5,000 of these old places built under the English flag still standing at the turn of the century; today, about 20% of that figure remain. Fire, no doubt, has been the most destructive force and, considering frame construction and lack of fire protection equipment, the wonder is that so many of these old places still exist. Disinterest, too, has taken its toll and in more recent

<sup>6</sup> Eagle's *Notes and Queries* (1900), 233.

<sup>7</sup> *Nobilaire de Pays-Bas*, II, 453.

<sup>8</sup> J. B. Linn, *Annals of Buffalo Valley*, pp. 8-10.

years the bull-dozer has spearheaded the onward rush of urban life into once rural areas.

"Widow's Neglect" is believed to have been built about 1757 on land originally patented by Ninean Beall (died 1717 at the age of 92) whose vast acreage extended, it is conservatively estimated, from Upper Marlboro to Georgetown. As originally constructed, "Widow's Neglect" extended considerably further east in a long, low, one-story wing.\* This telescopic style was its approximate form when it was acquired by the Downes family at the time of the Civil War. Before the turn of the century this wing was removed and some forty years ago the entire remaining structure was all but lost to sight by the construction of a large frame house joined to the former structure at its earlier front door. Residents of the area knew that it still existed, of course, but others travelling east or west on Route 50 passed it by without a glance, unless it was to admire the towering evergreens that then surrounded the newer home.

Architecturally, the original building had little to commend it, other than its curious free-standing chimneys of fieldstone topped with brick. Several homes in the Bowie vicinity are of this same construction and the fabulous "Montpelier" has cellar walls of red fieldstone, but for the most part the Colonial builder in this area used brick for his masonry. Perhaps an occasional outcropping of shale in valued pasture lands was gathered for the dual purpose of clearing tillable soil and saving the expense of firing brick beyond the requirements of bare necessity. "Widow's Neglect" in its last days still boasted both random width siding and the more sophisticated weatherboarding of beaded edge and uniform exposure. Both types were indigenous to early Maryland and a number of superb examples still remain, sometimes in combination as was done here.

The interior of "Widow's Neglect" was plain and undistinguished unless it was the narrow, delicate walnut handrail of the stairway and the deeply-worn treads of the steps. Probably never a home of wealth, it reflected the handwork of artisans who created substantially, rather than artistically. There must have been a time when this was the only home of any note between the port of Bladensburg and the magnificent Governor's house at "Belair." Others followed, some still remaining today to form a fairly concentrated group of noteworthy examples of early Maryland building. "Widow's Neglect," though, is nearly gone: ironically, a new owner wished to erect a warehouse on its site and utilize what materials were re-usable.

JAMES C. WILFONG, JR.,  
4889 Queens Chapel Terrace, N. E.,  
Washington 17, D. C.

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\* A sketch floor plan and several photographs are available in the Library of the Society.



## WORDS AND EXPRESSIONS USED IN MARYLAND

Edited by WILLIAM B. MARYE \*

## JOURNEY PROUD

The editor of these notes is informed by Mr. H. Findlay French that this expression, which means a state of mind induced by the prospect of going on a journey, was in regular use in his family, that is, it was used by his mother, the late Mrs. George Ross French, and by her sisters, the Misses Findlay. In my experience it was used by one person only, the late Mrs. Josiah Wilson (earlier Mrs. William Green), of West Annapolis and Odenton, Maryland.

## IVY, FOR MOUNTAIN LAUREL

It has already been brought out that the use of the word "Ivy" for *Kalmia* or mountain laurel, which was at one time very extensive in this state, is now confined to our oldest county, Saint Mary's. I have pointed out that the first known name for Long Green Run, Baltimore County, was *Ivy Run*. This name will be found in several old 1720 leases of lands within the bounds of "Gunpowder Manor," including "Fuller's Forest" and "Gittins' Choice." A tract of land called "*Ivy Hills*" was surveyed for Charles Carroll & Co. in November, 1753. This land is situated in the city of Baltimore, across Mount Royal Terrace. A survey called "Skeeman's Venture," made for one George Skeeman, 16 February, 1716, calls for "*two little Ivy hills*." This land lies on the west side of Gwinn's Falls, a short distance below Wilkins Avenue. These examples are reported in order to reinforce my theory that *ivy* was once the common word for laurel in Baltimore County.

## MOCCASIN, FOR SUNFISH

The final word on this subject has been received from Mr. Romeo Mansueti, Biologist, of the Department of Research and Education, Solomons, Maryland, in a letter addressed to the editor of these notes, bearing date, January 19, 1952:

"I have not seen your article on names of Maryland fishes and animals that appeared in the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, but I believe that you had not obtained the correct identification to the colloquial name 'moccasin' as applied to a certain fish at the Head of the Bay. Since I supplied the names to Dr. Truitt, which were ultimately sent to you, of the various fish names employed in your article, I became very interested in tracking down their correct identification. I am positive that the name 'moccasin' refers to the common pumpkinseed or sunfish, *Lepomis*

---

\* See earlier contributions by the author on this subject in *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XLVI (June, 1951), 124-136, and *ibid.*, (December, 1951), 318-232.

*Gibbosus*, and the redbelly or longear sunfish, *Lepomis amitus*. When I seined for fish in the Northeast River, one old-timer looked at pumpkin-seeds in my net and called them 'moccasins.' Since the redbelly sunfish is rather scarce at the Head of the Bay, the name is probably better applied to the pumpkinseed, although when I checked the literature, I found that two scientists who collected fish at the Head of the Bay (Radcliffe and Welsh, 1917, Proc. Biol. Soc. Wash., 30: 35-42) discovered that both species of sunfishes mentioned above were called 'moccasins'."

We are deeply indebted to Dr. Mansueti for this identification, and we are also obliged to him for the fact that the sunfish is called a "moccasin" in Northeast River, Cecil County. We have already brought out the fact of the use of the word in Spesutia Narrows and Swan Creek, Harford County.

---

### PARKER PRIZES FOR GENEALOGY

The officers and staff of the Society have found great satisfaction in the signal success of the Parker genealogical prize contests. Mrs. Sumner Parker instituted the annual contest in 1946. The stimulation given to careful genealogical research has been considerable and the genealogies entered in the contests have added materially to the Society's collections. It is expected that future results will be as beneficial to participants and the Society.

Winners of the 1951 contest were Miss Louise P. Jenkins of New York, first Prize (\$25), for genealogy, "John Hillen II, A Few Ancestors and Descendants" and Mrs. Jere Williams Lord of Baltimore, Second Prize (\$15), for charts of the Pope and Scharf families.

Entries for the 1952 contest must be received not later than December 31, 1952.

---

*New Publications*—The National Historical Publications Commission is assembling materials for two publications that will be of much interest to Marylanders. One will consist of documents that provide information about the ratification of the Constitution of the United States and the first ten amendments by Maryland and other states, and the second publication will contain documents that throw light on the work of the first Congress under the Constitution, 1789-91. The Commission wishes to publish not only the official records and newspaper accounts of these two outstanding developments in the history of our Nation but also extracts from contemporary letters, diaries, and other personal papers that contain pertinent information.

Marylanders who took an active part in the contest over the ratification of the Constitution were Samuel Chase, William Dorsey, Robert Goldsborough, Alexander C. Hanson, William Hemsley, Thomas Johnson,



Thomas Sim Lee, Edward Lloyd, James McHenry, Luther Martin, John Mercer, William Paca, William Pinkney, George Plater, Richard Potts, Moses Rawlings, and many others.

Maryland's Senators in the first Federal Congress were John Henry and Charles Carroll of Carrollton, and her Representatives in the House were Daniel Carroll, Benjamin Contee, George Gale, Joshua Seney, William Smith, and Michael Jenifer Stone.

The Commission will greatly appreciate information about and an opportunity to obtain copies of unpublished correspondence or other papers of any of the above named persons or of other persons that provide any information about the ratification of the Constitution and the first ten amendments and the work of the first Federal Congress. Communications should be addressed to Philip M. Hamer, Executive Director, National Historical Publications Commission, National Archives Building, Washington 25, D. C.

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*Early American History Prize*—An annual prize of \$500 is offered for a published book on some phase of early American history and culture (American history to 1815, including borderlands of the British North American colonies and British colonies in the West Indies to 1776) by the Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg. The first award will be made in May, 1952, for a book published during 1952.

The Institute has also announced that a number of Grants-in-Aid to those with studies already in progress in the field of American history to 1815 are available for 1953-54.

Details may be secured from the Director of the Institute, Box 1298, Williamsburg, Va.

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*Chesapeake Bay Vessels*—Mr. Richard H. Randall, a member of the Committee on the Maritime Museum, is compiling a list of types of commercial sailing vessels that have been used on the Bay. He welcomes suggestions for the list which in due course will be available for use in the Library.

---

*Harman Family Reunion*—A successful picnic and organization meeting of the Anne Arundel Harmans was held on June 15. Philip Stanley Harman of Elkridge is president of the new association. Information about future activities can be obtained from him or from Mr. W. Gray Harman, 815 Plainfield, N. J., who holds the office of Historian.

---

The *American Name Society* was recently organized for the purpose of encouraging the study of place names, personal names, and scientific and commercial nomenclature. Publication of a quarterly journal is planned.

Further information may be obtained from Mr. Elsdon C. Smith, 322 Sherman Ave., Evanston, Ill.

---

*Progressive School*—Sir John Augustus Foster, British diplomat in the U. S. (1804-12) refers in his "Notes" to a progressive school for little boys at which flogging was not permitted in Annapolis. Any information concerning the school will be appreciated by the editor who will communicate it to Prof. Richard Beale Davis of the University of Tennessee who is preparing a definitive edition of the "Notes."

---

*Davis, David*—Desire information concerning Davis' life in Cecil Co. 1815-30. Subsequently he moved to Illinois, was Associate Justice of U. S. Supreme Court (1862-77) and U. S. Senator (1877-83).

---

WILLARD L. KING,  
105 West Monroe Street, Chicago 3, Ill.

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*Preston*—Information concerning Captain Thomas Preston and his descendants will be deeply appreciated. He presumably came to Baltimore County from Ireland about the year 1650. His wife was Sarah Hews, heiress of Joseph Hews. His immediate descendants are understood to have intermarried with the Scott, Gilbert, Miles and Ruff families.

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HOMER E. CARRICO,  
6703 Country Club Circle, Dallas 14, Tex.

---

*Jannus* — Information requested concerning Anthony ("Tony") Janus (1889-1916), pioneer aviator who flew in Md. on several occasions. His father was Frankin Jannus, a patent attorney.

---

EARL PRUCE,  
3805 Oakford Ave., Baltimore.

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*Burgess*—Wanted maiden name and parentage of Ursula, third wife of Col. William Burgess (1622-1686) south River, A. A. Co. and first wife of Dr. Mordecai Moore, (Will probated Oct. 29, 1721) also of South River. Ursula's will probated June 30, 1702. Mackenzie's *Colonial Families*, II, 342, gives her maiden name as *Puadington* and VI, 363, as *Gordon*, parentage not given in either case. Which, if either, is correct?

---

Miss LOUISE E. LEWIS,  
1455 E. 54th St., Chicago, Ill.

---



*Tudor Hall and Philip Key*—Mrs. J. Dawson Reeder of Baltimore points out that Philip Key I settled in St. Mary's Co. as early as 1725 rather than "about 1749" as stated in Miss Poole's article on Tudor Hall in the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XLVI (Dec., 1951), 274. Mrs. Reeder's ancestor, Charles Ashcomb, appointed Key his executor in his will (Lib. 19, f. 127, Hall of Records) in 1725.

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*Washington College*—In connection with a projected history of the College, desire information and pertinent documents that may be copied, especially for the earlier years.

CHARLES B. CLARK,  
Washington College, Chestertown.

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### COMPREHENSIVE GOLDSBOROUGH GENEALOGY

One of the most complete genealogical compilations ever received by the Society was presented a few years ago by Mr. Charles B. Goldsborough of New York. It consists of six volumes of legal size typescript, totaling thousands of pages devoted to the Goldsborough family of Maryland. The author was the late Eleanor Goldsborough Winter (Mrs. Charles B. Goldsborough, Sr.).

Starting with the earliest English records relating to the family, and including also lines derived from Continental Europe, Mrs. Goldsborough has brought the family down to the present generation, itself a considerable tribe. In its practical organization, clarity of presentation, and excellence of form, this work is scarcely excelled in its field. Competent judges say that it is a marvel of accuracy and completeness. The Society is happy to give this belated statement of its appreciation of this useful work.

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### CONTRIBUTORS

MR. PANCAKE, of the University of Alabama faculty, has written a life of Samuel Smith for publication in book form. ☆ MR. LEISENRING, a Washington architect, was in charge of recent work at Tulip Hill. ☆ Long a student of 17th century Maryland records, MR. BEITZELL expects to publish his book, *The Jesuit Missions of St. Mary's County, Maryland*, next year. ☆ MISS WOLF, who teaches American history in a Peoria, Illinois, high school, is the author of *On Freedom's Altar: The Martyr Concept in the Abolition Movement*, to be published by the University of Wisconsin Press next month. ☆ Now associated with the Joseph Katz Company, MR. FIELDING is a native of Nottingham, England, and for three years was a feature writer for the *Sunday Sun*.

# MARYLAND

## HISTORICAL MAGAZINE



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MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY  
BALTIMORE

*December • 1952*



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DECEMBER, 1952

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*Annual Subscriptions to the Magazine \$4.00. Each issue \$1.00. The Magazine assumes no responsibility for statements or opinions expressed in its pages.*

FRED SHELLEY, *Editor*

FRANCIS C. HABER, *Associate Editor*

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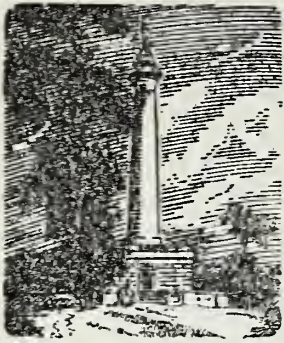
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2. Preservation of these materials for the benefit of all who care to enjoy them, and exhibition of items which will encourage an understanding of State and National history; and
3. Spread of historical information relating to Maryland and the rest of the country by means of addresses at the Society's home by authorities in various fields; addresses to outside groups by officers and staff of the Society; publication of the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, a quarterly containing original articles about State history; *Maryland History Notes*, a quarterly bulletin of news of the Society and other local historical items, and of the *Archives of Maryland* under the authority of the State.

The annual dues of the Society are \$5.00, life membership \$100.00. Subscription to the *Magazine* and to the quarterly news bulletin, *Maryland History Notes*, is included in the membership fee as well as use of the collections and admission to the lectures. The library, portrait gallery and museum rooms, are open daily except Sunday, 9 to 5, Saturday, 9 to 4. *June 15 to Sept. 15*, daily 9 to 4, Saturday, 9 to 2.





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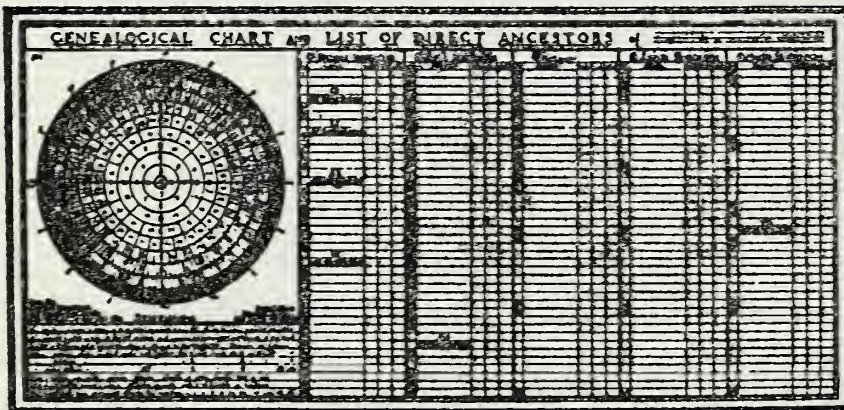
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# MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

*A Quarterly*

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Volume XLVII

DECEMBER, 1952

Number 4

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## SOME INFLUENCES OF POETRY UPON THE COURSE OF HISTORY \*

By ADRIENNE CECILE RICH

WHEN I was asked, some days ago, to read some of my poems here <sup>1</sup> and to discuss briefly some influences of poetry upon history, I realized that the subject offered many avenues of thought and treatment. Before we try to view some of these influences, I think we must begin by admitting at once that a list of poems that have altered the course of history would not prove impressive in length. Of course there have been patriotically inspired poems, written for a cause, which have illuminated the issues of historical crisis, and in capturing men's imaginations have stirred them to act. Here in Maryland we are the inheritors of two such poems: Francis Scott Key's "Star-Spangled Banner," and our own State song, "Maryland, My Maryland," the words of which turned a German folk-carol into a martial and defiant

\* Copyright, 1952, by Adrienne Cecile Rich.

<sup>1</sup> Address delivered before a joint meeting of the Maryland Historical Society and the English-Speaking Union on September 18, 1952.



anthem. Those two poems grew from and have remained a part of our national and State history, and beside them we may place Julia Ward Howe's "Battle Hymn of the Republic," written during the Civil War, at the suggestion of a friend, to the tune of "John Brown's Body." Certainly in all countries in times of political stress the emotions of men have been played upon to no small effect by the beat of rhythm and the ring of words. We find the poet William Butler Yeats looking back, in his last years, upon his career in the days of the Irish Revolution, and writing,

Did that play of mine send out  
Certain men the English shot? <sup>2</sup>

as if the poet himself felt troubled by the weight of his responsibility as a man with the gift of arousing other men to action.

But I think we are limiting ourselves if, in this discussion, we think of history only in terms of political events, battles, and the signing of treaties. Poetry has had some say in these episodes, at least as a means of crystallization, as a spotlight turned on a cause or a struggle. But it is not in the nature of poetry that it should have influenced history as prose rhetoric has done. Oratory, if only because it can reach hundreds or thousands of hearers simultaneously, and work directly upon their immediate emotions, has a double life: In its best sense, it is both an art and a political instrument. If it fails to accomplish its practical purpose it is to some degree a failure as an art; if it is insufficiently an art, it may fail as a practical instrument. And throughout history we see the orator moving and swaying the course of events, from Pericles in Athens to Churchill in the Battle of Britain.

Poetry cannot, I am saying, lay claim to just this kind of influence. For one thing, it reaches men in a different way: It is read by individual people at their individual times and places, not always at the collective rallying-point or the moment of greatest urgency. Then, too, poetry can rarely remain itself, and be true to its own principles, when it is composed chiefly in order to work some particular alteration in a state of events. It may have its germ in the soil of contemporary issues, but, more often than not, it fails when it is allowed to become primarily an instrument for a purpose outside itself.

<sup>2</sup> W. B. Yeats, *Collected Poems* (New York, Macmillan, 1951), p. 393. Quoted with permission of the Macmillan Company.

Poetry is, of course, always concerned with creating states of mind and heart, and with modifying the vision of its readers; with communicating a conviction, and, very often, with expressing the sense of an age or a society. And this brings me to the wider sense in which poetry has influenced the history of man—a sense, I believe, more fundamental and more lasting than the effect of any single poem on any single historical moment.

Some of this is recognized by Plato in his *Republic*, when he discusses education in the ideal state, and criticizes the poets, including Homer, for certain passages in their works, including several which seem to evoke a too-terrifying idea of life after death, in the Underworld. He says:

We must beg Homer and the other poets not to be angry if we strike out these and similar passages, not because they are unpoetical, or unattractive to the popular ear, but because the greater the poetical charm of them, the less are they meet for the ears of boys and men who . . . should fear slavery more than death. [Book III, 387]

Moreover, the poets have described certain unworthy kinds of behavior on the part of gods and heroes. In the Platonic dictatorship, it is decided,

the poets . . . [are] to be required . . . to express the image of the good in their works, on pain, if they do anything else, of expulsion from the State. [Book III, 401]

Evidently poetry can be dangerous to a ruler who is trying to inculcate certain ideas, and weed out others, among his subjects. We have, of course, seen this attitude toward poetry, and toward literature as a whole, exercised in the dictatorships of our own time. "The greater the poetical charm," indeed, the more likely are the ideas contained in poetry to become potent in forming the minds of its readers.

For poetry acts on the human mind and heart in a number of ways, of which we are often but dimly conscious. Through rhythm, it speaks to an innate element of man's being, and sets up an emotive state, whether melancholy, martial, satirical, or celebratory. Through rhythm and rhyme together it creates patterns of expectation, suspense and fulfillment, which carry the reader along with them. And to poetry is granted a latitude in expression which is denied to prose speech; poetry is capable of sus-



taining a richness of image, a fullness of sound, which in prose might seem mere hyperbole. Poetry is a medium for language at its impassioned pitch, not kicking over the traces and galloping off into the whirlwind, but held within a discipline of form, whether that form consist of meter, rhyme, stanza-pattern, or all three. From the tension between passionate expression and controlling form comes a tremendous emotional power, and poets from the beginning have known this and have chosen to submit to the discipline.

Poetry has, then, certain unique and powerful ways of playing on the mind and heart. But what has all this to do with history?

In its largest sense, history is the account of what things, tangible or intangible, men have considered worth struggling for and worth trying to perpetuate. It is a volume upon whose every page appear and reappear certain motivations, as varied and as mutually conflicting as power, freedom, law and order, beauty, piety, luxury, justice, truth, wealth, fame, peace, and honor. It is surely not for me to tell the members of this audience, but rather merely to agree with them, that one of the reasons why history is so exciting a study is that, more than any other field of knowledge, it is concerned with what, in the past, has excited men; what perennial or passing desires, purposes and needs have made them willing to go to war or to prison, work at apparently hopeless tasks, struggle with one another or with themselves, suffer physical indignity and mental lacerations, lie awake at night, and face the fear of death and the unknown. What, asks history, has moved men to the point of action—and of action so emphatic that it has shown up large in the crowded text of time?

Now, the concern of poetry has, from its beginnings, lain in just these things. Poetry began with a bard, reciting to his hearers in some metrical or alliterative pattern the traditional exploits of gods and heroes and the legendary fathers of the race. These oral epics were handed down through we know not how many generations, by constant repetition. The reciting or chanting of the poet was not merely a luxury or a polite entertainment; it was the glowing hearthstone of a culture. The cold black emptiness of winter night and the physical discomforts or dangers of the day could alike be forgotten while hearing of heroism in battle, of dragons and magic, of warriors at their banquets, and the building of great ships. Most important of all, however, the epic was a

means of preserving the ideals of a society, giving dignity and authority to those attributes and possessions considered most worth attaining. The Anglo-Saxon epic *Beowulf* illustrates in its episodes not only the conduct of a perfect king, but the ideal relationship between master and retainer, and the qualities most to be praised in a young warrior making his way in the world. If the prowess to win gold or treasures, or shrewdness in dealing with supernatural enemies, are regarded as important and desirable, so also are less worldly gifts: Beowulf is described as "strong in might, prudent in mind, and wise of words . . . his heart was not savage, but he, brave in battle, kept with the greatest self-control of mankind the ample gift which God had given him." And in the Greek *Odyssey*, whatever we (or Plato!) may think of the petty squabbling of the immortals on Olympus, there is the dignity of Odysseus as a man, the loyalty and patience of Penelope as a wife, the tact, graciousness and courage of Nausicaa, the young princess, which have been handed down with the purely narrative aspects of the poem as embodiments of certain ideals of human behavior.

Poetry has at no time since, probably, held quite such a place in its own right, as in that period of oral literature. It was then *the* intellectual and spiritual entertainment, *the* source and repository of ideals and of example for the race. In the Middle Ages, poetry was a strong influence in crystallizing the flowering of that complex, highly idealistic, and very explicit code of knightly behavior, with the traditions of courtly love and of the necessary virtues for a true knight or lover. These are to be found in the legends of King Arthur, the romance of Sir Gawain, the French *Roman de la Rose*, with its embodiments of such attributes as Chastity, Pity, Shame, and so forth. And this tradition was carried on into the English Renaissance by Edmund Spenser in his long poem, *The Faerie Queene*, which was written to celebrate the glories of Queen Elizabeth and her age, and also to set forth the ideal virtues which should inspire her knights and courtiers.

But I do not wish to give the impression that the most profoundly influential poetry has been merely didactic or moralizing in its nature. A former Professor of Poetry at Oxford, H. W. Garrod, has remarked that intentionally didactic poetry, poetry of a self-conscious and narrow moral preaching, is *not* didactic; "there is nothing to be learned from it," he declares; but he goes



on to say that the non-didactic poet is "the interpreter, vexed often and hesitant, but still the only present interpreter, of a creation groaning and travailing after its proper meaning."<sup>3</sup> From the time when poetry ceased to be the cumulative collaboration of many generations of bards and became the voices of individual men, each speaking in its own accent, we have had to learn to read and interpret it as individuals. And this has modified in several ways the manner in which poetry has expressed to us, as individuals, feelings and perceptions which we recognize and grasp more clearly through this medium.

In Chaucer's poetry, for instance, we find many of the old romance-figures—the knight, the squire, the lovely lady; but no longer are they presented as types of an ideal or mouthpieces for certain virtues. Here, suddenly, is a poetry in which there is great discrimination and individuality: nobody is utterly pure, utterly villainous, but all the shadings that we find in life are to be found here. Sometimes, as in the rollicking "Sir Thopas," Chaucer reduces to absurdity the mediaeval standardization of the courtly knight; and his Criseyde, instead of being the idealized and pedestalled lady for whom the lovers in the romances yearned, is one of the most complex, contradictory, and realistic women of poetry or fiction. But what are the things which Chaucer celebrates and finds exciting? Life itself: the endless variation of men's manners and faces, the broad panorama of humanity, high and low, as seen on the Canterbury pilgrimage; and skill at any trade or art, be it drinking or sermonizing, archery or storytelling. Chaucer has been cited as a poet who deals very little with the historical events going on around him, the Black Death, the Hundred Years' War, and so forth; but his poetry illuminates the upsurge of gusto, curiosity and independence of spirit which was later to grow into the English Renaissance; it is there in his lusty churls, his wilful women, and in such dry comments as that of the Shipman in the *Canterbury Tales*, who tells of a merchant

"That riche was, for which men held him wys."

That Shakspeare's plays are poetry is hardly debatable; and that they are plays, which from their birth have never ceased to be acted while the theatres were open at all, is important. It is im-

<sup>3</sup> *The Profession of Poetry* (New York, Oxford, 1929), p. 10. Quoted with permission of the Oxford University Press.

portant because lines, phrases, passages, allusions from Shakspeare are constantly travelling through our contemporary air, like the motes of atmospheric dust, thicker than we realize, and daily crystallizing and influencing the small, individual thoughts and feelings which in their great totals are called history. If the war-like passages from *Henry V* raised the pride and patriotic fervor of the English in the reign of Elizabeth, they were no less meaningful and effective when spoken to the English of the 1940's from a cinema screen. Scholars may argue as to whether or not Polonius' advice to Laertes is intended as a satiric piecing-together of old men's saws; while they argue, nearly every line of that speech is being quoted somewhere as part of our racial inheritance, the prudence and wisdom of our fathers. This is poetry which is woven into our history as English-speaking people; we can hardly begin to assess in how many ways it has given expression to our dimly-fathomed thought, and stirred us to excitement over issues that did not die with the Elizabethan age. Consistently as Shakspeare has been acted, he has been read, as a poet, by millions more than have seen his plays produced; and his effect on us who speak his language begins before we know what poetry is.<sup>4</sup>

In the 19th century, when much looked hopeful that we now distrust, and poets like Wordsworth, Byron, Coleridge, and Shelley were inhaling the air of revolution and breathing it into their writings, Shelley made his enthusiastic claim for poets as "the unacknowledged legislators of the world." Perhaps today we are less confident of the issues of legislation and revolution; and certainly Shelley's phrase does not help us much to know just how poetry can legislate the world. My own opinion is, that poetry is as far from legislation as from medicine; it is not going to put order into our lives any more than it will cure us of disease. It does not proceed by fiat and category; it will, in fact, often disturb our accustomed categories and upset the fiats of everyday existence. It has throughout history been the very nature of poetry that it should cause us to see the ordinary from a new and perhaps a troubling point of view; that it should show us connections between things that to our habitual modes of thought seemed unrelated; that it should stir us from our daily clichés and make us hear clearly the expression of what our own minds, perhaps,

<sup>4</sup> All this can with equal truth be said of the poetry of the King James version of the Bible.



were vaguely trying to articulate. Poetry, if it serves us at all, will demand that we pause and examine, that we *see anew*, and that our thinking and, indirectly, our action are thus modified.

It is interesting that one of the most powerful figures in 20th century poetry, T. S. Eliot, has attached high importance to history, both as a philosophic study and as a source of richness and contrast in art. He has said in one of his major essays, "Tradition and the Individual Talent":

The historical sense . . . we may call nearly indispensable to any one who would continue to be a poet beyond his twenty-fifth year; and the historical sense involves a perception, not only of the pastness of the past, but of its presence . . . The poet . . . is not likely to know what is to be done unless he lives in what is not merely the present, but the present moment of the past; unless he is conscious, not of what is dead, but of what is already living.<sup>5</sup>

In many of his poems Eliot has tried to create a sense of the past as simultaneous with the present, mingling images and allusions from classic, mediaeval or Renaissance times with the idiom and images of the 20th century. Perhaps one of the reasons why Eliot is sometimes felt to be obscure and unintelligible lies in his tendency to let the historian override the poet. His allusions and quotations are often recognizable only to scholarly experts, and require more specialized background, many feel, than a poet has the right to demand in his readers. In drawing on the historical past, however, the greatest poets have given a new significance to the present, setting it in relation to other ages, and expressing something of the continuity of flowing time, as well as its disintegrations.

Surely the years between World War I and the present have given rise to a great need for the perspective and generalization afforded by history. Sometimes, looking back wistfully on remoter centuries, we have the sense of living on an island, cut off from other generations by the unique experiences of modern war, of science and social upheaval and all the pressures of a complexity that seem to be ours alone. To be alive in the mid-20th century can be a lonely business unless we can somehow renew our contact with the great mainland of the past, forage there for supplies, find there reassurance that some, at least, of our terrors are not so unique, and, above all, that great creativeness has persisted even

<sup>5</sup> *Selected Essays* (New York, Harcourt, Brace, 1932), pp. 4, 11. Quoted with permission of Harcourt, Brace and Company.

through periods of great doubt and destruction. Now, poetry is only one means by which we can approach history, and it is at best only an indirect means. But I think it is important that a historical sense is again beginning to be urged by poets writing today. Only the other day I opened a new volume by the English poet Louis MacNiece, and read:

Pride in your history is pride  
In living what your fathers died,  
Is pride in taking your own pulse  
And counting in you someone else.<sup>6</sup>

We need history today, and the poets, perhaps particularly, realize it, both as individuals and as members of a community of human beings at a difficult moment in the life of man.

How much of a force will poetry continue to be, in this age that is said to have "killed the adjective," and in which so many of us have been distracted from our bookshelves? That will depend alike on writers and on readers. There is a certain burden of proof at this point on the poet, a responsibility to keep silent until he has something to say, and then to say it in a manner that justifies his using poetry rather than prose. Outside of certain small cliques, few readers will have patience with dull poetry—and when I say "dull" I am thinking not only of conventionally trite poetry, but of poetry that sets out to be daringly original and surprising in form, and that when once unravelled proves to say nothing which can really arouse or stir the reader. Poetry ought to bring a new grasp on reality, to act as a prism-glass on the ordinary light of day, showing it in colors which we had not hitherto guessed. If poets today offer this to their readers, then they deserve to be heard by more than their present limited audience. And being heard will give them a greater impetus to speak, and to speak yet more eloquently. So there is also a responsibility on the part of those who care about poetry as readers, to go on reading what is written today, and tomorrow, in expectation of delight and of an intensified view of the world within and without, past and present. Robert Frost once said, "What do you write a poem for, anyway, except to see it mix with people's lives?" And what should we read a poem for, if not to have it mix with

<sup>6</sup> *Ten Burnt Offerings* (London, Faber and Faber, 1952), p. 16. Quoted with permission of Faber and Faber, Ltd., Publishers.



our lives, and give us new experiences and new ways of viewing experience? The course of history is a sum of what happens to the emotions and perceptions of separate individuals; whether their vision is constricted or wide-ranging, lazy or full of curiosity, easily satisfied with security and comfort or demanding a spiritual richness and challenge, this vision, writ large, will be reflected in the governments they choose, the institutions they create and destroy, the aspirations which form the keystone to their society. It is important for this vision that poetry mix with people's lives; and so long as it does, it will continue to influence human history.

# SIR AUGUSTUS J. FOSTER IN MARYLAND

Edited by MARGARET KINARD LATIMER

“THE Profit of the Marylander must appear very great,” wrote one genial Englishman early in the 19th century. Wealth pouring out of cultivated land, natural products turning into fabulous new goods, trade moving east and west—all this done by a strangely democratic breed; Sir Augustus J. Foster thus gave pause and asked himself, “What kind of people are these Marylanders; what are they accomplishing here?”

During Foster’s first visit to the United States as secretary to British Minister Anthony Merry from 1804 to 1807 and when he returned as the British representative from 1811 to 1812, he traveled in and out of Maryland from his headquarters in Washington. He became particularly well acquainted with those of the Federalist gentry who were also active in the social circles of the Federal Capital. Foster found the old aristocratic Annapolis more externally attractive than the amazingly progressive commercial center at Baltimore, but he soon realized that almost all Marylanders pleased him; he hastened to note that even the back-country folk were polite and respectful. Foster may be cited among the more unusual early English visitors, because he *liked* Americans—not everything they did, for he observed with a sharp eye, but he recognized the merits in the new country and only on rare occasions did preconceived English ideas cloud his unusually sound and reliable picture of America.

Foster did look askance at some of the American innovations in government and institutions, and he frowned at aspects of Maryland too—at the state’s newly-initiated voting privileges, at the plight of the Anglican clergy, at unlearned customs in the back country. And one typically British attitude that he did not escape was a dislike for American hotel accommodations and modes



of travel; the stage coaches with "formidable" drivers offered "filthiness" and many "disagreeable Companions." He preferred to ride horseback as he toured the Maryland countryside.

The British diplomat was careful to investigate the natural scenes as well as the people, and always, whether registering approval or criticism, he was genuinely interested in seeing America. The coastal region of Maryland abounded in luxuriant foliage which caught the observant eye of the visitor. The mountain country, however, impressed him not at all except that the land everywhere seemed universally rich. Since Foster's closest affinity was with the well-to-do he became much excited by the large estates. Constantly enthusiastic over opportunities for gain in both agriculture and business, he spoke with pride of Maryland as he illustrated and emphasized a discovery for his less informed countrymen: Even in this new land were many "Instances of Men of Property and good Family." Foster noted the growth and progress, however, of all strata of society, and he readily satisfied himself that these Marylanders were developing a prosperous region.

The following is a portion of Augustus J. Foster's "Notes on the United States" which he wrote from his diaries and other memoranda some years after his visit to America. Two copies of the manuscript "Notes" are available in this country, one at the Henry E. Huntington Library, and the other at the Library of Congress. A small portion of the "Notes" was published in the *Quarterly Review* in 1841; a much larger section including Foster's intimate view of Washington political circles during Jefferson's and Madison's administrations appeared in the *William and Mary Quarterly*, January, 1951, and April, 1952. The *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* in October, 1951, printed Foster's narrative of tours through that state, and at the present Mr. Richard Beale Davis of the University of Tennessee is engaged in editing all the Foster papers for book publication. Thanks are due to the Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress for the use of this unpublished account of Foster's visit to Maryland.

Maryland does not seem to have increased the Number of Her Representatives in Congress of late years for they were Nine in 1812 and still appear to be but nine.<sup>1</sup> This was one of the old original Aristocratic

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<sup>1</sup> Foster wrote the "Notes" about 1830-1835.

States whose names tell us of their having been founded by Royalty. Queen Mary and Queen Anne were here the Rivals of Queen Elizabeth, the Patroness of Virginia, as King George was of King Charles further South. The chief Mart for Commerce took its Denomination from Lord Baltimore whose Descendants, the Calverts, still possess considerable Property within this State, and whose Livery, black and orange, is pointed out to you by any old Farmer you may meet with in the Plumage of a beautiful Bird called after him the Baltimore [Oriole] Bird, something between a Starling and a Crow, to be found in the open Fields. Lord Baltimore's legitimate Heir, Mr Harford, did not, however, escape as well as others of the Family, his house having been confiscated at Annapolis and made into the Seat of Government for which from its Size it was well adapted.<sup>2</sup>

The Governor is elected by joint Ballot of the Houses and receives £1000 per an[um] Maryland Currency, or 3666 dollars.

This State like its Neighbour Virginia was originally a very aristocratic State but tho the Upper Classes have great Pretensions to family Honour, the Government is in the Hands of Democrats and therefore, while they make Helots of the Negroes, the Marylanders have enacted that every White Man, of age and a Citizen, shall have a right to vote, provided he have been Resident for a Twelvemonth within the Limits of the State.<sup>3</sup>

According to the Registration made by order of the United States in 1791, Maryland is 134 miles long and 110 broad, contains about 12000 square miles and was at that Time peopled by 319,728 Inhabitants.

The Elections are all decided in one Day throughout this State: Treating is allowed of before the Day of Election but not on the day itself, though I was assured that some years previously Booths were permitted to be opened on the very day.

From the Election being carried on in one and the same day at different Places a Candidate may be calumniated with Impunity on the Hustings where he is not present, and it has happened to a Gentleman to be wrongfully accused of being at the Head of revolted Negroes at the very Time of the Election, when the accusation was believed in from the Impossibility of his being present to defend himself: it is obvious, however, that such a Manouvre could only succeed for once and that

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<sup>2</sup> Henry Harford, illegitimate son of Frederick, last of the Barons Baltimore, was the last Calvert proprietor. Dispossessed of his property during the Revolution, he applied to the Maryland Assembly in 1783 for repossession, but the Assembly in formal resolutions justified confiscation. Matthew Page Andrews, *History of Maryland* (Garden City, N. Y., 1929), pp. 292, 377-378.

Apparently Foster refers to the Government House, official residence of Maryland governors from 1753 to 1869. Purchased by the Governor, Robert Eden, from Edmund Jennings, the house was confiscated early in the Revolution. It was purchased for use by the Naval Academy in the 1860s and served as the Academy library until razed in 1901. The present Bancroft Hall stands on the site.

<sup>3</sup> Amendment to the Maryland State Constitution, 1801. *Ibid.*, p. 409.



a Refutation of it would be more likely to throw discredit on the Calumniators than the Calumniated.

Mr Key<sup>4</sup> gave me a description of an Election for Congress in which he was the Successful Candidate: They were two and they were both invited to a Barbecue for the Purpose of being heard: The Pig of Schote was placed, as usual, over a hole with a fire in it, split up so as not to cut thro the Skin of the Back, thro which the animal was roasted, and Kept continually basted till it was sufficiently done when it became extremely delicate eating: married Ladies and Girls were of the Party and the Candidates delivered their orations sometimes mounted on the Stump of a Tree and sometimes on a Beer Barrel. Magruder,<sup>5</sup> Key's opponent talked of his Blood being allied nearly to the whole District and insisted that he was therefore naturally the fittest Person to represent and maintain their Interests, but Key retorted that if the Question were about a Steed that argument might be good. It was not, however, in Discussion which of the two, he or this Rival, were of the best Breed, but which would make the best Member of Congress, when the Head was more worthy to be considered than the Blood, and he was accordingly preferred: after this they joked and flirted and danced till one oClock in the Morning.

The State of Maryland, which at the Commencement of this Century was justly entitled to the Credit of being governed by some of the most respectable and fittest Persons in the Union, was, nevertheless, suffering some few years afterwards under, perhaps, the meanest and the worst, who had become notorious for Shabbiness and bad Faith, as Instances of which I was told the following Facts:—Several Gentlemen having subscribed together for the Purpose of building a College at Annapolis, had petitioned the Legislature for support of their Plan, and an arrangement was agreed to in Consequence of which the Expenditure of the Building being borne by the Subscribers, the Funds for supporting the Institution were to be supplied by the State: an act was passed to that Effect, the subscribers performed their Part and the College was in a flourishing Condition, when by a Change of Parties some foreigners and low People got into Power, repealed the act, and withdrawing the Funds left the Owners of the Building to their Bricks and bare walls, alleging publickly for a Pretext that the People by whom the Funds were to be furnished, could not from the Expensiveness of the Establishment have their Children educated in it.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Philip Barton Key, Federalist Representative from Maryland, 1807-1813. *Dictionary of American Biography*, X, 363.

<sup>5</sup> Patrick Magruder (1768-1819), a member of the House of Representatives from 1805 to 1807, Clerk of the House and Librarian of Congress (1807-1815). See *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1949* (1950), p. 1493, and Edward S. Delaplaine, *Francis Scott Key, Life and Times* (1937), pp. 48-50.

<sup>6</sup> In 1784 the Legislature provided funds to found St. John's College at Annapolis. In 1806 the State appropriations were withdrawn and the College remained in a languishing condition until the funds were restored in 1811. Foster's visit coincided with this period of distress. Elihu S. Riley, *A History of Annapolis* (Annapolis, 1887), p. 213.

Another Fact was related to me respecting those liberal Democrats still less to their Credit as honest Men—The British Government contrary to all Expectation, with that almost Romantic and Scrupulous Love of Justice which has hitherto ever distinguished it, tho they might have fairly retaliated for the Iniquity with which Lord Cateret's and Mr Penn's Heirs had been treated as well as the Heirs of Lord Baltimore, yet, looking only to their own Character and Dignity, consented to give up a Sum of £200,000 which lay in the British Funds and had belonged to the old Government of Maryland: Bills like Treasury Bills had been circulating upon this Money for some Time previously, during the War, and were very much depreciated, nevertheless the Holders were the Persons entitled to the Benefit, and were so considered in a Proclamation calling upon them to send in the Bills, within a reasonable Period: the new Government however which just then were elected were no sooner installed in their offices than they curtailed the Period allowed for the operation and limited the Time for presenting the Bills so that many thousands were not produced until it was too late—and the Affair became a Job with but little Benefit to the real Claimants, and on such occasions it is that Nations find out the bad Economy there is in employing low Persons of gross and envious dispositions, many of them Refugees from other Parts, instead of Gentlemen of Property and Education who have different Compass to steer by than that of some paltry Jealousy or the mere love of Lucre.<sup>7</sup>

The Church of Rome used to be the Predominant Church of this State, and possessed 60,000 acres of Land within its Boundaries, the superintending Management of which was entrusted to the different Priests of their respective Parishes. The Archbishop, who is Primate of the whole Continent, resided at Baltimore; The Dignity was held some years back by Dr Carrol a very highly esteemed Gentleman who was of the order of Jesuits and had been consecrated by the Pope.<sup>8</sup> The Clergy of the Church of England were far from going in so flourishing a State, both R. Catholics and Independants having been much more impressed with the Importance of forming good Endowments for their Priests in the early Times of the Colonies than were the Anglicans, and consequently when the Revolution burst upon these and tore asunder their Connection with the Mother Country, the Incumbents had nothing to fall back upon but individual and precarious Subscription,—to favour which a Vestry is occasionally held, and the wants of their Parson are represented to his Parishioners, a book is carried round, and Persons in good Circum-

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<sup>7</sup> See account of the Bank of England stock on which the State issued bills of credit J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1879), II, 504-505.

<sup>8</sup> John Carroll, first Roman Catholic bishop in the United States (1789), and first Archbishop of Baltimore (1808). *D. A. B.*, III, 526. (Carroll was consecrated bishop on August 15, 1790, in England. A bishop is not consecrated a second time when he becomes an archbishop, but he is invested with the pallium, the symbol of his office. The pallium comes from and is blessed by the Pope. In Carroll's case the pallium was brought by the British Minister [Foster] in 1811. Rev. Henry J. Browne, Catholic University of America, to Editor, October 10, 1952.)



stances generally put down their Names for 20 or 30 dollars each per an: the Insufficiency, however, and the Humiliation attending such a Mode of Payment I learnt from the Rev Mr Scott, a very venerable, greyheaded Clergyman of the Scotch Protestant Church whom I met at the Country House of Mr Ogle<sup>9</sup> a Gentleman of Property in this State. [Deleted marginal insert: for whom I had brought a brace of English Pheasants on my 2d Visit in the U States.] Mr Scott told me that his salary might be called about £400 a year, Maryland Currency, but that it was difficult and troublesome for him to go about in order to get paid by each individual subscriber, and if he were to dun them he should run the Risk of their withdrawing their Names altogether: indeed so irksome was this operation become to him who was as mild and almost as simple as a Child, and who moreover could not stand the fatigue of it, being now considerably above 60 years of age, that he soon afterwards determined to retire and go back to Scotland after 35 years absence from his Native Country to look out for a Curacy or for any other Ressource that he could obtain there, rather than remain on in America an object of Pity, if not of Contempt, humbled as well as mortified in his own Feelings. I felt so for him that I gave him a Letter for Lady Liverpool and recommended him in the strongest Terms for some Preferment in Great Britain, however small; I had, however, the mortification, on my Return to Europe, of learning that although he had left my Letter at Fife House and had called on Lady Liverpool, yet the Family having unluckily been out of Town, or merely out for a drive, he poor Man, who was probably possessed of a morbid Sensibility that made him think himself too insignificant to be noticed by the great, had quitted London without leaving his address or any clue by which to find him, and this was the more to be lamented as Lord Liverpool had been moved by my Representation to compassionate his Situation having actually fixed upon a small and very comfortable Living which was to be conferred upon him, but he had vanished and I never afterwards could learn what became of him. [Marginal insert: Note—I since heard from Dr Tarrot the Bishop of Edinburgh that he went to that City and was there employed as Curate.]

The State of Maryland had a high agricultural Reputation tho the Land there is not always well managed being in many Parts very much gullied as in Virginia. Land, however, in Virginia is rendered more valuable to the owners from the State Laws in regard to Debt and the transfer of Property, as the Virginian landholder can not be forced to part with any Portion of his Estate for the Purpose of paying even a just Debt and this makes a pretty considerable Difference in the Price of the Lands of the same Quality on the opposite Sides of the River Potomac. Maryland, as is well known, produces the best Tobacco for smoaking, which is called "Kitefoot." More than a Hogshead, in general, is raised from one acre and it is worth at the lowest Price about 65 dollars: The

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<sup>9</sup> Benjamin Ogle, governor of Maryland, 1798-1801, son of Governor Samuel Ogle. *D. A. B.*, XIII, 648.

State has it examined by an inspecting officer who opens it with an Iron ledge in three Places for Examination, so attentive are they to keep up the Reputation of the staple Commodity of the Country.<sup>10</sup>

I was assured by the Comptroller of the Treasury, Mr Duval,<sup>11</sup> who was himself a Landowner, that the Expenditure of a Slave to his Master amounted annually, on a rough Calculation to but 20 dollars, (not quite £4:10s), and that one Slave should be equal to the Labour employed on three Hogsheads of Tobacco, which in some years is sold at even 90 or 100 Dollars per Hogshead for the best—so that the Profit may be enormous, tho of course somewhat more than 40 dollars may be deducted from the gross Price, when one considers that at least one half the Number of the Slaves whom a Proprietor maintains must be set down as ineffective from Sickness, Infancy or age; When we reflect, however, that in England a Farmer is thought to do very well if, after all Expenses are paid, he nets £4 an acre, the Profit of the Marylander must appear very great: and moreover when the Soil is quite new I have been assured that even more than a Hogshead and a half has been raised on the acre.

Tobacco does not exhaust the Soil as Indian Corn does, and I have been told by Mr Key that it takes four years for some soils to recover, when not manured, from the Effects of the Corn.

There were a great Number of rich Proprietors in the State of Maryland. In the District, nearest the City of Washington, alone, of which Montgomery County forms Part, I was assured that there were 500 Persons possessing Estates which returned them an Income of £1000 Maryland Currency, and Mr Lloyd,<sup>12</sup> a Member of Congress on the Eastern Branch, possessed a net Revenue of 30000 Dollars or between 6 and £7000 with which he had only to buy Clothes for himself and Family, wines, Equipage, Furniture and other Luxuries. Mr Ringold,<sup>13</sup> too, possessed near Haggardstown [Hagerstown] Property yielding him an Income of 12000 dollars a year, and he rented his Lands to Tenants, whom he was at Liberty to change if he pleased every year, for 5 dollars per acre, tho he was to stand the Expenditure of all Repairs. Mr Ringold kept but 600 acres in his own Hands for Stock. Mr Tayloe<sup>14</sup> also, whose whole Income exceeded 70,000 dollars per an, had a great Portion of it in Maryland,

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<sup>10</sup> To improve the quality of exported tobacco and to keep down the crop surplus, rigid inspection laws were passed as early as 1747, a later one coming in 1801. Joseph C. Robert, *The Tobacco Kingdom* (Durham, N. C., 1938), p. 8; Thomas W. Griffith, *Annals of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1833), p. 176.

<sup>11</sup> Gabriel Duval (1752-1844), Member of Congress, 1794-1796, first Comptroller of the Treasury, 1802-1811, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court, 1811-1835.

<sup>12</sup> Edward Lloyd, Republican Representative, 1806-1809; later Governor of Maryland and U. S. Senator. *D. A. B.*, XI, 331.

<sup>13</sup> General Samuel Ringgold, who owned the estate "Fountain Rock" in Washington County. George A. Hanson, *Old Kent* (1876), p. 67. Fountain Rock was the subject of an article in *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XLVII (1952), 19-28.

<sup>14</sup> John Tayloe of Mt. Airy, Virginia, and Octagon House, Washington, prominent in society and a successful patron of the turf. "Virginia Legislative Papers," *Virginia Magazine of History*, XVII (October, 1909), 374n.



chiefly at Nanjimoy where he held 3000 acres which his Father bought for £500 and which he could have sold for 20,000 dollars: his Property too must by this time be very considerably augmented for he was said to lay out about 33000 dollars every year in new Purchases. He possessed 500 Slaves, built Brigs and Schooners, worked Iron Mines, converted the Iron into Ploughshares and all this was done by the Hands of his own Subjects. He had a splendid House at Mount Airy with a Property round it of 8000 acres and a House at the Federal City, and he told me that he raised about 12 Bushels to the acre of the best Land. Mr Carrol of Annapolis,<sup>15</sup> Grandfather to Lady Wellesley, the Duchess of Leeds—and Lady Stafford, was said to be still more wealthy having besides great accumulation in the Funds, 15000 acres of the best Land in Frederic County and several other Estates. He let a considerable Portion of his Property too to Tenants with an agreement that he was to receive a fine on the Transfer of a Lease, which arrangement is very profitable in a Country where Land is so often liable to change its occupants. I am induced to mention these Instances of Men of Property and good Family settled in America from having observed what great Ignorance still prevails among even the higher Classes of Englishmen in Regard to the State of the Colonies before the Revolution that separated them from the Mother Country, many Persons supposing them to have been in a great Measure peopled by Convicts. Whereas, Whatever were the Importations of such Persons as are now sent to Botany Bay, they were too few in former Days to affect the general Character of the Colonial Population and were probably restricted to the State of Pennsylvania which is still an omnium Gatherum for People of all Countries and Religions and to the State of Georgia, which only began its Political Existence in the last Century.

No Town in the World, perhaps, has had a more rapid rise than Baltimore, it contains at the present Day in all Probability 80 or 90,000 Inhabitants, and Mr Cook,<sup>16</sup> a most respectable Inhabitant of the Place told me in 1805 that he could remember when there were not more than 5 or 6 Houses in it. What contributed more than any other Circumstance to its extraordinary Increase was that of its being a safe Position as a Place of Deposit, out of the reach of Ships of War during the War of Independance. Capital then flowed into it, Commercial Houses were established, and, the Market once formed, such is the Stability of Credit and of Habit, that even the Foundation of Washington City, with all its advantages arising from its being seated on a great River, with every one of the back Countries nearer to it than to Baltimore, has not been able to do the slightest Prejudice to the Prosperity of the Latter, while so great has been the advance in the Value of the Ground for building

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<sup>15</sup> Charles Carroll of Carrollton. Joseph Gurn, *Charles Carroll of Carrollton, 1737-1832* (New York, 1932); also Ellen Hart Smith, *Charles Carroll of Carrollton* (1942).

<sup>16</sup> Probably William Cooke, Baltimore businessman. See J. Thomas Scharf, *Chronicles of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1874), p. 303.

Purposes consequent upon this great demand for it that Col. Howard<sup>17</sup> told me he had just sold for 150,000 dollars a piece of Land that he had bought several years previously of Mr Key for about 800 Guineas and it is on a Part of this Land that the Roman Catholic Cathedral Church has been erected.

Dry goods were carried in Waggon from Baltimore to Nashville in Tennessee in a Period of about Six weeks, being a Distance of 640 miles, and the cost of Carriage amounted to but  $12\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.

From Baltimore to Philadelphia the Distance is 148 miles which I did in 29 hours, sleeping on the Road at Havre de Grace on the Susquehannah. I took the Stage Horses and changed at every Station paying for them but 56 dollars and thus a first Step was made towards travelling Post which since, as I am told, has been continued.

There was a Sum of 1000,000 dollars subscribed for forming an East India Company at Baltimore the average Passage from which Town to Calcutta was calculated at 120 days.<sup>18</sup>

There were several flourishing Manufactures in the Neighbourhood, or in the Town itself, among which was one peculiarly American, namely that of Moss Hair Matresses, the Material for which is chiefly imported from Charleston and New Orleans, being the fine Moss already mentioned, that grows on Trees and resembles Hair, which it nearly equals in Quality, while it costs but  $6\frac{1}{2}$  Cents per lb. Whereas Hair costs at Baltimore  $37\frac{1}{2}$  Cents per lb. Bed ticking is also made here, and there is a Cotton Manufactory<sup>19</sup> in the Neighbourhood at a Place called Ellicott's Mills under the Direction of an Englishman who did not seem over satisfied with his Gains tho he was paid two Dollars per Day, for he told me that a very little would tempt him to go back to the old Country. He was paid from Fortnight to Fortnight, and the work was principally done by apprentices, Boys and Girls; 200 lbs of Cotton were spun in a Day, which was chiefly worked into Yarn, very little being made into Cloth. A few Englishmen, nevertheless, were engaged in making Jean and Royal Rib which is used for Waistcoats, and they were paid by the Piece 32 cents and hardly made  $3\frac{1}{2}$  yards a day, which was hard earning, being less than a common Labourer is paid Who gets a Dollar a Day and is found in food. The Girls got 2 dollars per week, but the Lodging of these People and their Board is stopt out of their Pay, and they worked from Sun rise to Sun Set, having only  $\frac{1}{2}$  an hour for Breakfast and one hour for Dinner, so laborious are People obliged to be to please their Masters even in this Young Country.

The Cotton from New Orleans was very dirty and of bad Quality,

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<sup>17</sup> John Eager Howard, Revolutionary soldier and United States Senator, 1796-1803. *D. A. B.*, IX, 277; see also Griffith, *op. cit.*, p. 185.

<sup>18</sup> Early in 1807 a company was organized which went through the Embargo to the East and realized a handsome profit. *Ibid.*, p. 185.

<sup>19</sup> In 1808 a society was formed to carry on cotton manufacturing, and works were established on the Patapsco River near Ellicott's Mills. It was chartered by the Legislature and called the Union Manufacturing Company. *Ibid.*, p. 190.



tho the worse it was the better, they said, for the coarse yarn that they wanted, and it was very cheap costing but 11 Cents per Pound. The Manufacturer has as yet but little Profit and the Shares subscribed for were under Par, which was to be lamented as there was a Population of 300 Persons, in all, kept together by this Establishment.

During Mr and Mrs Merry's <sup>20</sup> Residence in the United States we made an Excursion together to Annapolis, which is about 44 miles from Washington and is on the Bay of Chesapeak. I rode the whole way which lies for the most Part through very fine woods of oaks, Tulip Trees and Hicories. I never saw, unless on the Banks of the Bosphorus, so great a Luxuriancy of Foliage, and it was in the Month of May when the Country was most beautiful; the Variety of the Oaks was particularly striking, the Red Oak has leaves, when young, fully as large as Cabbage Leaves; another, the Black Oak grows like a Portugal Laurel, the Leaves shaped like a flattened Pear and extremely coriaceous; the White Oak, the most valuable of all, grows best on a slashy Soil and is of an excellent Quality for Ship and House building, provided it is not put into Contact with the Timber of the Live Oak, for I was assured by Commandant [Thomas] Ting[e]y, Commissioner of the Navy Yard, that if the Ribs of Live Oak were only to rest on White Oak Planks the latter will rot away at the Point of Contact although remaining Sound a few Inches from it on either side.

The Willow Oak has long thin Leaves without a single Indenture and is a very pretty Tree. The Hicory grows to a large Size and has Leaves like those of a Walnut Tree, pointed but not quite so smooth. The Tulip Tree is very lofty and has Abundance of Flowers half green half red: a Gentleman of Kentucky told me he had one that was 29 feet in Circumference and that five Men could hardly embrace with arms extended. The Cedars have a red blossom, in Shape very much like a Tarantula, so much so that I took it at first for an Insect. The woods were interspersed with beautiful Climatis, and in this District they seemed filled with a Variety of noisy Birds, of which the Woodpeckers furnish a great number of different Species. At Marlborough Court House we got to a clean Tavern kept by a very civil Innkeeper, and further on five miles from Annapolis we crossed South River, which is  $\frac{1}{2}$  a mile wide, in a flat Boat.

Annapolis was formerly the greatest City of Maryland until Baltimore took away its Trade; it still, however, contains the best Houses in the State, tho only a Town, now, of 1500 Inhabitants. The Houses are built of brick and generally three Stories high, being more lofty than those of Baltimore, and every House has a Garden and Trees to shade it. The best Society used to be found here a few years back, and there were still several agreeable families residing in the Town when we visited it, amongst the Rest the Ogle family and Mr Carrol already mentioned as a great Landholder, the richest perhaps in the United States, and who

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<sup>20</sup> Anthony Merry, British Minister to the United States.

looked very old fashioned, wearing Ruffles and a cocked Hat as in the older Time. Stewart the Painter <sup>21</sup> told a good Anecdote of one of these Gentlemen: that upon Mrs Bingham's <sup>22</sup> Return from England he was invited to her Parties, and as she gave herself fashionable airs and among other Innovations had introduced the form of announcing Company on their arrival, his Name was shouted out by the Servant at the Door to the Servant on the landing Place, and by him echoed up to the Drawing Room while he was pulling off a tight great Coat; when hearing himself so repeatedly called for he at last got vexed at what he thought their impatient hurry, stopt tugging for a Moment and gave them all a hearty Curse, exclaiming D—n it dont be in such a haste and I'll be with you immediately.

There was a School for little Boys at Annapolis which had considerable Reputation; there was no flogging allowed of which is a discipline that is scouted throughout all this Part of the Continent. Roman Catholic and Protestant as well of Boys of all Sects were promiscuously educated at this School.

I again visited Annapolis in June 1811 when I landed from the *Minerva* Frigate, with Sir Grenville Temple <sup>23</sup> who was going to endeavour to drive away some Squatters from his Lands in Massachusetts, Mr Baker my private Secretary and Seven Servants, and I had to pay for a single Days living at the Inn 36 Dollars or £8. I dined the following Day on my Road to the Federal City at Mr Ogle's of Bellair, <sup>24</sup> and gave him an English Cock Pheasant which I had brought for him with the Hen, but the latter had died at Sea.

The Law of Prescription takes Effect in this State after 20 years of Possession.

Mr Ogle told me that some years previously his Father and other Proprietors near the Shore had been much plagued by Visits from Sailors belonging to the Patriots and other French Ships of War lying in the Chesapeake, four of his Sheep having, on one occasion, been killed and carried off from a Farm belonging to him: a Complaint having been made to the Commandant, he advized the Gentlemen to arm their Negroes and order them to fire on the offenders if they attempted to do so another Time: but he never offered to pay for the Sheep, and the Sailors must have been under very loose discipline for the Messenger saw some of them drunk and playing Cards while their officers appeared to walk by without noticing them.

Soon after my Return from Annapolis I made an Excursion to Harper's Ferry; <sup>25</sup> it was on the 20th of June and I set out on Horseback which

<sup>21</sup> Gilbert Stuart. *D. A. B.*, XVIII, 163.

<sup>22</sup> Anne W. Bingham, Federalist society leader of Philadelphia. *Ibid.*, II, 273.

<sup>23</sup> Probably George Nugent-Temple-Grenville or his son Richard. See *D. N. B.*, XXIII, 127, 129.

<sup>24</sup> "Belair," Prince George's County, the home built about 1746 by Gov. Samuel Ogle, father of Benjamin.

<sup>25</sup> In a letter to his mother, Foster wrote "I made a little excursion to Harper's Ferry where the Shenandoah and Potomack join and rush through the mountains, if



was the only way for travelling with any Comfort in the United States, the Stage Coaches being in general so crowded that whether in Winter or Summer one feels the greatest Inconvenience in them, for tho they ought by Law to take but seven Passengers, they do take 12 or 13, and of these many Individuals are occasionally very disagreeable Companions, and either from their filthiness or Manners not fit to associate with Gentlemen. The drivers too make themselves formidable by choosing to drive over the worst Places in a dashing Manner: Whereas with one's own Horses one may choose one's hours for dining or halting and go nearly as far in a Day, when the Roads are bad which is pretty generally the Case to the South of the Susquehannah.

It is 15 miles to Montgomery Court House [Rockville]

16	to a Tavern
13	to Frederick Town
10	to a small Village called Trappe
and 10	to Harpers Ferry

The Tavern at Montgomery Court House was kept by a Scotchman who avoided talking of his Country as if he was ashamed of having left it.

There is perhaps no Country in the World in which one may travel over so much space and meet with less Variety, or take less Interest in the Objects one may see as in the Interior of the States, generally speaking: The whole of my Tour tended but to one Gratification, that of beholding the Junction of two Rivers at Harper's Ferry, the Character of the Inhabitants hereabouts, a Set of People unattached to Soil, Descendants of German Soldiers, or Germans, or Scotch, making no permanent stay any where, and caring little for any thing but Money, being too null or insignificant to merit Attention: while the language they speak is a Jargon of English and German, in which the English evidently gains Ground and the German is a wretchedly corrupt Patois. I conversed with several and was surprized to find that I could hardly understand a single Sentence, while one of the Inhabitants paid me the Compliment of saying that I spoke the German too grammatically for him.

Between Montgomery Court House and Scholls Tavern one catches a View of the Monocasis <sup>26</sup> Mountains, particularly that called the Sugarloaf, which is insulated from the rest, and from its conical form made one imagine that it might be an extinguished Volcano: I could not, however, approach near enough to see if there were any Volcanic Stones about it. The Tavern stands high and as there are no Rivers or Marshes in the Vicinity, it is perhaps the only Spot for Miles where no ague is to be caught. One of those sudden Gusts of Wind, accompanied with Rain,

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mountains they can be called. The country is very woody, but has more cultivated spots than I expected to find. Population does not increase, however, very rapidly in this part of the United States." Foster to Lady Elizabeth Foster, June 30, 1805, in Sir Vere Foster (ed.), *The Two Duchesses* (London, 1898), p. 226.

<sup>26</sup> Monocacy.

so common in the United States, came on just as I got there, and obliged me to remain for the Night: otherwise I should have rode as far as Frederick Town on the first Day. I had a wretched bed there.

On the Road to Frederick Town I passed the River Monocasis, the Country is very much cleared and the land, apparently, very rich, but whether cleared Land or Forest it is equally sultry as the Trees are tall and branch out but very little. The Cottages are universally made of Logs and small. Land sells for 40 or 50 dollars the Acre. There is not a single Bookseller's Shop in Frederick, as the Town is familiarly called, and although it is the second Inland Town in the State not situated upon a River, having about 1500 Inhabitants, whose Trade is principally carried on in small Waggon with Baltimore.

In going to Harper's Ferry one crosses the Blue Ridge, a Range of lofty Hills covered with Woods and from about one to 2000 feet high: The Undulations of the Soil at their Feet give considerable richness to the View, but there is no very striking Feature to be seen, until within a few Miles of the Ferry where the Road is confined between the Heights and the River, the Banks being high and rocky as well as interspersed with Trees; the Scenery is very romantic and the River rapid and wide, tho not very deep at the Ferry which in the dry Season no Vessels can pass. On crossing over to a Village on the other Side one sees a Manufactory of arms of which 13000 Stand were lying ready in the armoury when I visited the Place.<sup>27</sup> It is a strong Position as it stands against a stony Mount with the River Shenandoah on the right hand and the Potomac on the left. There is a Rock suspended over two others just above the Village which they call Jefferson's Rock, as it is supposed that it was from thence he composed his Rant about the bursting through the Mountains of the Two Rivers.<sup>28</sup> Two miles, however, beyond this Point, his Imagination might have been more easily worked up, for from the high Grounds on the Road to Sheppardstown one catches a View of the beds of the two Torrents, their Junction and Passage to the Ridge, as well as the blue Summit of the Sugar Loaf Mountain which stands in the Plain.

The Body of Water at this Season of the year is scanty and the Shenandoah is not navigable at all, nor is the Potomac much deeper, and the Corn Traders prefer dealing over-land with Baltimore: the Freshes too of these Rivers are very uncertain depending upon Rains which may fall sooner or later in the Year. I slept at Trappe on the Floor on Straw, and the Inn at the Ferry was very indifferent.

It is about 24 miles from thence to Martinsburg,<sup>29</sup> tho called 20, and one is continually liable to be deceived in these Parts as to Distances

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<sup>27</sup> On the right bank of the Potomac stood the "Federal Manufactories of Arms." For description of the arsenals and the "manufactories," see P. H. Nicklin, *Letters Descriptive of the Virginia Springs* (Philadelphia, 1835), pp. 82-83.

<sup>28</sup> From this rock Jefferson is supposed to have viewed the falls. In his *Notes on Virginia* occurs the description of "one of the most stupendous scenes in nature." Saul K. Padover, *The Complete Jefferson* (New York, 1943), p. 578.

<sup>29</sup> Then in Virginia, now West Virginia.



everybody appearing to decide them according to a Measure of his own, calculating not unfrequently from his particular home, without reflecting upon how far he may have left it behind him. On the Road to Annapolis I was told at first that it was 16 miles to Marlborough, four miles further on I was told the same story and four miles after that again I found People who informed me that I had still 15 miles to go, so that it seemed like chasing a Rainbow. At Sheppardstown a Frenchman from Marseilles kept the Inn. At Martinsburg the Inn was supposed to be one of the best in the United States: and I slept there in the Ball Room—It is a great resort in Summer as a healthy Place, tho of a Population of about 1000 Inhabitants 70 had died the year previous of the bilious Fever: but that was an extraordinary year, it was said—these butts, however, are frequently introduced and you must Question and cross question in order to discover from an Inhabitant of any Place hereabouts whether his Town is really unhealthy or not. There is a public Table at the Inn at Martinsburg and all decently dressed Strangers are admitted to it. I met there Mr Worthington, a Senator of the United States <sup>30</sup> who was riding thro and stopped to breakfast there. I returned by Middleton in Maryland in another Direction across the blue Ridge to Fredericstown. The Hills I found stony and covered with wood but no fine Timber in them. The Breaks afforded rich and pleasing Views—I met but one Beggar and his family on the whole Road, and but few people of any sort, even Negros seemed Scarce. At Fredericktown I breakfasted with the Lady of the House and her Family as well as some Strangers: They knew me and I everywhere met with some Respect, nor did I find the common People boorish.

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<sup>30</sup> Probably Thomas W. Worthington, Senator from Ohio, 1803-1807, 1810-1814. *D. A. B.*, XX, 540.

# MARYLAND QUAKERS IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

By KENNETH L. CARROLL

THE Quaker movement, which originated in England in 1652, spread so rapidly and widely that within four years it had reached out not only into all of Great Britain and much of Europe but also throughout the English colonies in America.\* George Fox, the founder of the Society of Friends, as the Quakers called themselves, wrote, "In 1655 many missionaries went beyond the sea, and in 1656 some proselytes were made in the American provinces and other places."<sup>1</sup>

The first Quakers to visit continental America were mostly women. In July, 1656, Mary Fisher and Ann Austin arrived at Boston, beginning the "Quaker invasion of Massachusetts." After having their books burned, being examined for marks of witches, and being imprisoned for five weeks, they were shipped to Barbados Island by the shipmaster who had brought them.<sup>2</sup>

Almost simultaneous with the arrival of Ann Austin and Mary Fisher in Boston was the first known attempt to propagate the Quaker message in the southern colonies. Here also the first missionary of this new sect was a woman—Elizabeth Harris of London. Although it has generally been held that her missionary activity was in Virginia, it is evident that her "convincements," at least those of which we know, "were made in the colony of Maryland, though she may have performed some labour of which we have no accounts in Virginia as well."<sup>3</sup>

\* A general article about "The Society of Friends in Maryland" by Delmar Leon Thornburg appeared in *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXIX (1934), 101-115.—Ed.

<sup>1</sup> Cited by J. Saurin Norris, *The Early Friends (Or Quakers) In Maryland* (Baltimore, Maryland Historical Society, 1862), p. 4. For a brief, but interesting, account of this "most remarkable extension of Quakerism beyond the seas" see Elbert Russell, *The History of Quakerism* (New York, 1943), pp. 37-28.

<sup>2</sup> James Bowden, *History of the Society of Friends in America* (London, 1850-1854), I, 35. See also William Sewell, *A History of the Rise, Increase and Progress of the Christian People Called Quakers* (Philadelphia, 1823), I, 290-291.

<sup>3</sup> Rufus M. Jones, *The Quakers in the American Colonies* (London, 1911), p. 266. Russell (*op. cit.*, p. 39) suggests that Elizabeth Harris may have started her work



Gerard Roberts wrote to George Fox in July, 1657, saying, "The Friend who went to Virginia [evidently Elizabeth Harris] is returned in a pretty condition. There she was gladly received by many who met together, and the Governor is convinced."<sup>4</sup> Rufus Jones, the great Quaker scholar and mystic, feels that the word *Virginia* was used for this "general section of the great, more or less unknown, New World." He suggests that "the Governor who is convinced" is Robert Clarkson — never "governor" of Maryland but a member of the General Assembly from Anne Arundel County. In speaking of Clarkson, Thomas Hart of London, in a letter to Thomas Willan and George Taylor in 1658, says "I suppose this man is the governor of that place," i. e., the place visited by Elizabeth Harris.<sup>5</sup>

The most important clue about the success and location of Elizabeth Harris' work is furnished by a letter written by Robert Clarkson, the "convinced governor," dated the 14th of the Eleventh Month, 1657. This letter reads as follows:<sup>6</sup>

Elizabeth Harris, Dear Heart, I salute thee in the tender love of the Father, which moved thee toward us and I do own thee to have been a minister by the will of God to bear the outward testimony to the inward word of truth in me and others. Of which word of life God hath made my wife a partaker with me and hath established our hearts in His fear, and likewise Ann Dorsey in a more large measure; her husband I hope abides faithful; likewise John Baldwin and Henry Caplin; Charles Balye abides convinced and several in those parts where he dwells.<sup>7</sup> Elizabeth Beasley abides as she was when thou was here. Thomas Cole and William Cole have both made open confession of the truth; likewise Henry Woolchurch, and others suffer with us the reproachful name.<sup>8</sup> William Fuller abides convinced. I know not but William Durand doth the like.<sup>9</sup> Nicholas Wayte abides convinced. Glory be to God who is the living

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in Maryland and Virginia as early as 1655, but all other historians hold to the year 1656 as the time of her religious activities here.

<sup>4</sup> Quoted by Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 266.

<sup>5</sup> *Loc. cit.* Hester Dorsey Richardson, *Sidelights on Maryland History with Sketches of Early Maryland Families* (Baltimore, 1913), I, 221, reports finding in an early document reference to "a place in Virginia called Maryland."

<sup>6</sup> Reproduced by Jones, *op. cit.*, pp. 267-268. The original is in the Swarthmore collection.

<sup>7</sup> This Charles Bayly, who helped John Perrot to obtain release from his imprisonment in Rome by the Inquisition in 1661, became one of the extreme followers of Perrot in the schism which soon followed.

<sup>8</sup> The "reproachful name" is that of "Quaker" which was first applied to Friends in scorn and derision but which later came to be a badge of honor.

<sup>9</sup> William Durand, who was one of Cromwell's commissioners for the government of Maryland, was Secretary of the Commission. Jones (*op. cit.*, p. 267, n. 2) thinks this Durand may possibly have been the person referred to as "governor."

fountain and fills all that abide in Him. The two messengers thou spoke of in this letter have not yet come to this place—we heard of two come to Virginia in the fore part of the winter, but we heard that they were soon put into prison, and not suffered to pass. . . .<sup>10</sup> We have disposed of the most part of the books which were sent, so that all parts where there are Friends are furnished and everyone that desires it may have benefit of them: at Herring Creek, Rhoad River, South River, all about Severn, the Brand Neck and thereabouts, the Seven Mountains and Kent.

The writer of this letter states that the two Friends, whose arrival in Virginia he has heard of, "have not yet come to this place." Thus it appears clear that he was not writing from Virginia. Durand, Thomas and William Cole, and Henry Woolchurch, mentioned in the above letter, were Maryland Quakers. Also the communities listed are all well-known Maryland localities not too distant from Annapolis. For these reasons the attempts of Bowden, Janney, and other historians to locate the Severn between the Rappahannock and York Rivers in Virginia were questioned nearly a century ago.<sup>11</sup> Rufus Jones, however, has made the most thorough attempt to correct this mistaken location of the first "convincements" of Elizabeth Harris.<sup>12</sup>

The next two Quaker missionaries to visit Maryland were Josiah Cole and Thomas Thurston, who set out on foot for Maryland after being released from imprisonment in Virginia. There, having been joined by Thomas Chapman, they remained until August, 1658, when they continued their travels on foot to New England. Thurston, who had previously been banished from Boston, took this method of entering Massachusetts by a "back door"—for laws had been made to prevent all vessels from bringing Quakers into the colony.<sup>13</sup>

These three Friends, Thurston, Cole, and Chapman, followed up the work of Elizabeth Harris who had gathered a large number of followers about the Severn and Kent. They were very successful in their spreading of the Quaker message, and many colonists were willing to hazard everything for what seemed to them

<sup>10</sup> The two Quakers who were imprisoned in Virginia were, in all probability, Josiah Cole (Coale) and Thomas Thurston who arrived in Virginia in 1657 and who, after making a number of convincements, were imprisoned under the 1643 Acts for the banishment of Non-conformists. Virginia officials, in their attempt to have the Church of England as their one religious institution, enacted extremely harsh regulations against Catholics and Non-conformists.

<sup>11</sup> Norris, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

<sup>12</sup> Jones, *op. cit.*, pp. 266-268.

<sup>13</sup> Norris, *op. cit.*, pp. 5-6.



the truth. It was at this time that there was recorded in the minutes of the proceedings of the Council, or Upper House, a feeling of "alarm" at "the increase of the Quakers."<sup>14</sup>

At an early stage of their history in Maryland persecution came upon the Quakers. Thus one finds that, upon information Thomas Thurston, who was opposed to swearing and refused to take the oath of fidelity to the proprietary government, was imprisoned and then ordered to leave the colony;<sup>15</sup> and upon information Josiah Cole was "at Annarundel seduceing the People & diswadeing the people from taking the engagement," the Sheriff of Anne Arundel was ordered to "take the body of Josiah Cole & him in safe custody keepe vt in Order without Baile of Mainprise."<sup>16</sup>

Besse, the recorder of Quaker sufferings, lists the names of some thirty people who suffered in 1658 under the Maryland government. These were charged with refusing to fight, to take oaths, or with entertaining Quakers. A fine of £3, 15s was levied for entertaining Quaker missionaries.<sup>17</sup>

In the early part of 1659 three other travelling Friends — Christopher Holder, Robert Hodgson, and William Robinson — visited Maryland. As happened everywhere, "considerable convincements took place."<sup>18</sup> The success of their labor and the rapid growth of Quakerism apparently alarmed the authorities. On July 23, 1659, the Governor and Council of Maryland issued the following order:

Whereas it is well know in this Province that there haue of late bin seuerall vagabonds & Idle persons knowne by the name of Quakers that haue presumed to com into this Province as well diswading the People from Complying with the Military discipline in this time of Danger as also from giving testimony or being Jurors. . . . And that the keeping & detayning them as Prisoners hath brought so great a charge vpon this Province the Governor & Councell . . . doe heereby . . . Require and command all & euey the Justices of Peace of this Province that so soone

<sup>14</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, III, 347. This is the earliest mention of Quakers in the colonial records of Maryland.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 349-350; Raphael Semmes, *Crime and Punishment in Early Maryland* (Baltimore, 1938), p. 4.

<sup>16</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, III, 349-350.

<sup>17</sup> Joseph Besse, *A Collection of the Sufferings of the People Called Quakers from 1650-1689* (London, 1753), II, 378-380. Jones (*op. cit.*, p. 278) feels that these thirty probably represented the number of adult males who had become Quakers in 1658.

<sup>18</sup> Bowden, *op. cit.*, I, 367.

as they shall haue notice that any of the foresaid Vagabonds or Jdle persons shall again presume to come into this province they forthwith cause them to be apprehended & whipped from Constable to Constable vntil they shall be sent out of the Province.<sup>19</sup>

Thomas Thurston, who had gone to New England after being expelled from Maryland, returned in 1659. A manuscript letter by William Robinson, cited by Bowden, reports his arrest and sentence to an imprisonment of a year and a half.<sup>20</sup> Besse, the chronicler of Quaker sufferings for the Truth, records that four individuals were fined for extending hospitality to him and that another was whipped "for not assisting the sheriff to apprehend him."<sup>21</sup>

Josiah Cole, Thurston's earlier travelling companion, made a return visit to Maryland in 1660. After a visit of some ten weeks, he was banished from Maryland, but on what charge is not related.<sup>22</sup> Almost upon the heels of Josiah Cole came the visit of another Quaker minister to the colonies — George Rofe. He reported that "many settled meetings there are in Maryland." On a second journey to this section, in 1663, he was drowned in the Chesapeake Bay during a storm.<sup>23</sup>

It should be pointed out that this persecution, which fell upon the Quakers in Maryland in the brief period following 1658, was primarily political rather than religious. Many Friends suffered imprisonment, fines, whippings, or banishment for refusal of military service or oaths, for keeping on their hats in court and for entertaining travelling Quakers.<sup>24</sup> This persecution, writes Jones, was motivated not by intolerance of their religious teachings, but by "the sincere though mistaken conception that the Quakers were hostile to government, and were inculcating views that were incompatible with a well-ordered civil regime." He holds that, as the "solid" people of the colony came to an understanding of the real nature of the new religion, there came to be a "general attitude of respect" toward it.<sup>25</sup>

In Maryland the earliest "convincements" came largely from among the people who were unchurched — those who belonged neither to the Church of England nor to the Roman fold. In the

<sup>19</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, III, 362. There is no record of this sentence ever having been applied.

<sup>20</sup> Bowden, *op. cit.*, I, 367.

<sup>21</sup> Besse, *op. cit.*, II, 378-380.

<sup>22</sup> Norris, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

<sup>23</sup> Bowden, *op. cit.*, I, 347, 362.

<sup>24</sup> Russell, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

<sup>25</sup> Jones, *op. cit.*, pp. 279-280.



early 1660s there occurred a great influx of Quakers from Virginia who were undergoing very harsh persecution. A series of laws had been enacted from 1659 to 1663, designed to forbid Quakers to enter Virginia, to stay in the colony, or to hold services for worship. "An Act for the Suppression of the Quakers" was adopted by the Assembly at the session of March, 1659/60. There followed, in December, 1662, "An Act against Persons that refuse to have their children baptized" and, in September, 1663, "An Act prohibiting the unlawful assembling of Quakers."<sup>26</sup> Such laws, punishing Quakers for not having their children baptized and forbidding them to hold religious meetings with more than five persons present, were motivated by religious rather than political considerations. There was to be no challenge to the Established Church as the one religious institution in Virginia.

The story of those Quakers on the Eastern Shore of Virginia who escaped the persecution of the authorities by petitioning the government of Maryland for permission to settle on the Maryland side of the line dividing the Eastern Shore has been well reconstructed (as far as existing records permit) and interestingly set forth by Torrence in his *Old Somerset*.<sup>27</sup> Three meetings—Annamessex, Monie, and Bogerternorton—were established in this section. Annemessex appears to have been the first of the three; the other two are thought to have been organized following George Fox's visit to Somerset in February–March, 1672/1673.<sup>28</sup>

Of this early group in Somerset, Ambrose Dixon, George Johnson, and Thomas Price were among the most active. Dixon, a well-to-do planter, was the heart of the Annemessex group. Colonel Scarburgh (remembered for his abortive attempt to place the Annemessex-Manokin area under the authority of Virginia) described him as "receiver of many Quakers, his home ye place of their Resort." A number of very important people in Somerset, including Stephen Horsey, William Coulbourne, and others, were

<sup>26</sup> George MacLaren Brydon, *Virginia's Mother Church and the Political Conditions Under Which It Grew* (Richmond, 1947), p. 192. Pages 196-197 contain the author's attempt to justify this treatment of Quakers by the Virginia authorities. He states (p. 193) that no Quaker was ever put to death on account of his faith in Virginia. Yet George Wilson, of England, and William Cole, of Maryland, were put into "a nasty stinking, dirty" dungeon in Jamestown. Wilson was whipped and heavily chained, so that "his flesh rotted from his bones and he died" (Russell, *op. cit.*, p. 45).

<sup>27</sup> Clayton Torrence, *Old Somerset on the Eastern Shore of Maryland: A Study in Foundations and Founders* (Richmond, 1935), pp. 85-111.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 106.

friendly to Quakerism in these early days.<sup>29</sup> Other influential Quakers who entered this section of the lower Eastern Shore at a date a little later than this initial influx of 1661-1663 were John Goddin, Levin Denwood, Nehemiah Covington, and Thomas Evernden (later of Dorchester).<sup>30</sup>

In addition to this group of Friends who moved from Northampton and Accomack Counties in Virginia to Somerset in Maryland, there were a number of Quakers who were forced by Governor Berkeley in 1660 to flee Lancaster and the neighboring counties of Virginia. For the most part, they settled along the shores of the Patapsco in Baltimore County and along the Choptank in what was about to become Talbot County. In this Talbot group were Richard Gorsuch and Thomas Powell, both of whom became Justices of Talbot, and Howell Powell and Walter Dickinson, both prominent planters.<sup>31</sup> Philip Stevenson, who was on the Court in Talbot County in 1665, was probably one of the Virginia Quakers.<sup>32</sup> Among those who settled along the Patapsco were Charles and Robert Gorsuch, brothers of Richard and Lovelace Gorsuch, who settled along the Choptank in Talbot.<sup>33</sup>

The increasing attitude of respect toward Quakerism, mentioned earlier, was in large part due to the visits of three outstanding leaders of the new movement—John Burnyeat, George Fox, and William Edmundson. Burnyeat, the first of the three to labor in Maryland, arrived here in April, 1665, from Barbados. He spent the whole summer in Maryland—holding “large meetings in the Lord’s power.”<sup>34</sup> In the spring of 1672 Burnyeat again returned to Maryland and experienced great success in his work. He called a General Meeting of all Friends in Maryland at West River. This was the beginning of the Baltimore Yearly Meeting, the second oldest yearly meeting to be organized in America.<sup>35</sup>

In 1671 George Fox, accompanied by twelve other leaders, sailed for Barbados where he spent three months strengthening and expanding the Society of Friends. After a visit to Jamaica, the party, which included William Edmundson, sailed to Mary-

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 88-94.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 92, 98-99.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, LIV, xxv. These four Gorsuch brothers had migrated to Virginia with their mother about 1652 where they became converts to Quakerism. They were the sons of a Loyalist Anglican clergyman, the Rev. John Gorsuch, who in 1647 was put to death in England by the Puritans.

<sup>34</sup> Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 280.

<sup>35</sup> Russell, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

<sup>31</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, LIV, xxi.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, LIV, xxiv.



land and landed just in time to attend this meeting at West River in April, 1672. The increasing respect in which Quakerism was held by the authorities and people of influence in Maryland is clearly reflected time after time in the *Journal* of George Fox. It is with satisfaction that Fox, in describing this General Meeting at West River, notes that there were present many people of "considerable quality in the world's account," including "five or six justices of the peace, a speaker of their parliament or assembly, one of the council, and divers others of note."<sup>36</sup>

From the General Meeting at West River, Fox proceeded to the Cliffs where another large meeting was held. It was here that Fox and his party split into several groups: John Cartwright and James Lancaster left by water for New England; William Edmundson with three other Friends sailed for Virginia, "where things were much out of order"; and George Fox, accompanied by John Burnyeat, Robbert Widders, George Pattison, and several Maryland Friends, set out by boat for the Eastern Shore.<sup>37</sup>

After a meeting on the Eastern Shore, at which "many people received the truth with gladness, and Friends were greatly refreshed," Fox held a meeting with the Indian Emperor and his kings—his first meeting with a group of Indian Chiefs.<sup>38</sup> He describes it as follows:

And it was upon me from the Lord, to send to the Indian emperor and his kings to come to the meeting. The emperor came, and was at it; but his kings, lying further off, could not reach in time; yet they came after with their cockarooses.<sup>39</sup> I had in the evening two good opportunities with them; they heard the word of the Lord willingly and confessed to it. . . . They carried themselves very courteously and lovingly, and inquired "where the next meeting would be, and they would come to it"; yet they said, "they had had a great debate with their council about their coming, before they came now."<sup>40</sup>

After this meeting with the Indians, Fox and his companions left for New England by land, setting out on horse back from

<sup>36</sup> *Journal of George Fox; Being an Historical Account of the Life, Travels, Sufferings, Christian Experiences, and Labour of Love, in the Work of the Ministry, of that Eminent and Faithful Servant of Jesus Christ, who Departed this Life, in Great Peace with the Lord, the 13th of the 11th Month, 1690* (London, 1891), II, 164.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 164.

<sup>38</sup> Russell, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

<sup>39</sup> Cawcawaassough, meaning adviser. See Clayton Colman Hall, *Narratives of Early Maryland* (New York, 1910), p. 84, n. 1.

<sup>40</sup> Fox, *op. cit.*, II, 164-165.

near the head of the Tred Avon (in all probability from the home of John Edmondson). Later, on September 16, 1672, Fox and his companions again entered Maryland—coming down the Eastern Shore. On the 18th of September they stopped at the house of Robert Harwood on the Miles River. The next day they went to a large meeting and then on to John Edmondson's. Then they proceeded three or four miles by water to a Meeting on First Day. At this meeting there was a judge's wife who had not been to a Friends Meeting before. She was "reached" and later exclaimed "she had rather hear us once than the priest a thousand times."<sup>41</sup>

From here the group travelled on to Kent where a meeting was held, and then close by to Henry Wilcock's where another service was had. From here a journey of about twenty miles by water took them to a very large meeting where there were "some hundreds of people, four justices of the peace, the high-sheriff of Delaware, an Indian emperor or governor, and two chiefs."<sup>42</sup>

Fox next returned to John Edmondson's on Tredhaven (Tred Avon) Creek. From here he attended the second General Meeting for all Maryland Friends, which hereafter was held alternately at West River and Third Haven every six months. The first three days of this five day General Meeting were spent in public worship to which came "many Protestants of divers sorts, and some Papists; amongst these were several magistrates and their wives, and other persons of chief account in the country."<sup>43</sup> To this meeting came such throngs of people that Fox, in describing his daily trip by water to the meeting, wrote,

. . . and there were so many boats at that time passing upon the river, that it was almost like the Thames. The people said, "there were never so many boats seen there together before." And one of the Justices said, "he never saw so many People together in that country before." It was a very heavenly meeting.<sup>44</sup>

From this meeting Fox and his companions travelled to the head of the Chesapeake and then started downward on the Western Shore. A "great meeting" was held at Severn; "divers chief magistrates were at it, and many other considerable people."<sup>45</sup> Many of the "people of upper rank" attended the meetings

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 178.

<sup>42</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 179.

<sup>44</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 182.



which followed at William Cole's, Abraham Birkhead's, and at Peter Sharp's at the Cliffs.

After an excursion into Virginia and North Carolina and a short period of labor in Southern Maryland, Fox and his group crossed the Bay to Somerset. Here services were held at the houses of Ambrose Dixon, Capt. Colburn, James Jones, and others. From the Annemessex section they proceeded by water about fifty miles to the house of a "friendly woman" at Hunger (Honga) River and then to Dr. Winsmore's (a justice of the peace recently "convinced") near the head of the Little Choptank River in Dorchester.

Following another meeting with the Indians, this time at their town on the Choptank, Fox and his companions held large meetings at William Stevens', at Tredhaven Creek, at Wye, at Reconow Creek, and at Thomas Taylor's on Kent Island.<sup>46</sup> From here they crossed the Chesapeake and labored on the Western Shore until after the General Meeting and then sailed for England.

The *Journal* of George Fox mentions many "house-meetings" throughout Maryland. This remained the custom for many years following the visit of Fox. Rufus Jones writes that Betties (Betty's) Cove in Talbot County was the first meeting-house built in Maryland.<sup>47</sup> This meeting-house, on the Miles River, appears to have been enlarged in 1676 (rather than still being unfinished in 1678, as Jones suggests) when the Men's Meeting at Wenlock Christison's concluded that the meeting-house should be completed as follows:

to seale the Gable End and the loft with Clapboard and Make a partition betwixt the new Roome and the old three foot high seiled and with windowes to Lift up and Down, and to be hung with hinges according to the discrection of Bryan Omealy and John Pitt who are appointed by the meeting to have the oversight of the Same and to be done with what Conveniency may be.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> Thomas Taylor, at this time Speaker of the Lower House and a very influential man in public affairs, was "convinced" by the preaching of George Fox. He had gone to hear Fox preach at the house of William Cole on the Western Shore and was so impressed that he drove seven miles the next day to a meeting at Abraham Birkhead's where he was "convinced" (See Jones, *op. cit.*, pp. 330-331).

<sup>47</sup> Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 306.

<sup>48</sup> Minutes of Third Haven Monthly Meeting for Business, I, 1. These manuscript records of Third Haven Monthly Meeting (hereafter referred to as Third Haven Minutes) are complete from 1676 to the present and are housed in the vault of the Talbot County Register of Wills Office for safe-keeping.

In all probability this meeting-house was built some time before 1672, for there is found in Fox's *Journal* the statement that "though they had not long before enlarged their meeting-place, and made it as large again, as it was before, it could not contain the people."<sup>49</sup> Often, when the meetings were large, barns substituted for houses as a place of worship. John Churchman, on his travels through Talbot County in 1738, records that "an elderly man asked us if we saw some posts standing, pointing to them and added, the first meeting George Fox had on this side of the Chesapeake Bay, was held in a tobacco house there which was then new."<sup>50</sup>

Although not mentioned by name in the *Journal* of Fox, Wenlock Christison (Christerson) had already settled in Talbot County on Fausley Creek, a branch of the Miles River. This Christison had figured prominently in the Boston persecution of Quakers and, in 1660, had been sentenced to be hanged but was shortly thereafter released from prison. In 1664 he received ten lashes in each of three towns in Massachusetts and was then driven into the wilderness. After this he found his way to Barbados and, by 1670, to Talbot County where he was a very influential leader and minister among the Quakers of the central part of the Eastern Shore. For a time one of the meetings was held at his house.<sup>51</sup>

The Minutes of the Men's Meeting for 1679, held at West River, list reports from the following meetings: "The Cliffs, Herring Creek, Patuxent, Muddy Creek, Accomack, Annameessicks, Munny, Choptank, Tuckahoe, Betties Cove, Bay Side, and Chester River."<sup>52</sup> This listing demonstrates the fact that, at this time, Quakers tended to congregate in three areas—near Annapolis (the first three meetings centered around here), in or near Somerset

<sup>49</sup> Fox, *op. cit.*, II, 179.

<sup>50</sup> *An Account of the Gospel Labours and Christian Experience of a Faithful Minister of Christ, John Churchman, Late of Nottingham in Pennsylvania, Deceased* (Philadelphia, 1779), p. 49.

<sup>51</sup> Samuel A. Harrison's *Wenlock Christison, and the Early Friends in Talbot County Maryland* (Baltimore, 1878), contains an interesting account of Christison. This monograph, included in Oswald Tilghman, *History of Talbot County, Maryland, 1661-1861*, I, 103-132, is largely based on George Bishope's somewhat colored *New England Judged*.

<sup>52</sup> Cited by Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 305. Muddy Creek, in Accomack Co., Virginia, should not be confused with Marshy Creek Meeting in Caroline County, Maryland. The latter Meeting, first mentioned in 1727, became known, in turn, as Snow Hill and Preston Meeting.



(where the next four were), or in Talbot County (where the next four were located). There were other meetings which were not mentioned in this group. Third Haven Minutes, for the 28th of the 9th Month, 1679, report that Abraham Strand and John West, with other "friends of Sasifrax," answer "that things are pretty well with them and that for the future they are in hopes things will be better and that they will keep their Meetings more Constant for the future."<sup>53</sup>

The Yearly Meeting, held at Third Haven the 5th Day of the 8th Month, 1697, inquired

into the estate and welfare of every Weekly Meeting belonging to this Yearly Meeting, viz: South River, West River, Herring Creek, Clifts, Patuxent, Cecill, Chester, Bayside, Tuccahoe, Treadhaven, Choptank, Transquaking, Monnye, Annamessex, Muddy Creek, Pocatynorton, and Nasswaddox.<sup>54</sup>

In addition to these meetings there were probably some other meetings. In 1687 Third Haven Monthly Meeting reported that Little Choptank Meeting, in Dorchester, was one of its Weekly Meetings.<sup>55</sup>

On the 10th of August, 1697, the Governor and Council ordered the Sheriffs of each county to list the location and type of place of worship belonging to the Quakers. The Sheriff of Anne Arundel reported a meeting-house at West River, one at Herring Creek, and meetings at the houses of Samuel Chew, William Richardson, Sr., and John Belt. The only Quaker preachers in Anne Arundel were reported as William Richardson, Sr., and "Samuel Galloway's wife [Ann]." The Sheriff of Baltimore County reported "neither teacher or place of worship" for Quakers.

Calvert County had, it was recorded, "one very old meeting-house near Leonard's Creek and one place of meeting in the dwelling house of George Royston, at the Clifts." Prince George's

<sup>53</sup> Third Haven Minutes, I, 18.

<sup>54</sup> Cited by Norris, *op. cit.*, pp. 27-28, footnote. Cecil Weekly Meeting, in existence by 1696, was under Third Haven Monthly Meeting until 1698 when Cecil Monthly Meeting was established. Transquaking, in Dorchester, is first mentioned by name in Third Haven Minutes in 1696. Nassawadox, in Northampton County, Virginia, is said by Stephen B. Weeks, *Southern Quakers and Slavery: a Study in Institutional History* (Baltimore, 1896), p. 340, to have been established *circa* 1680 and laid down in 1736, at about the same time as Muddy Creek Meeting.

<sup>55</sup> Third Haven Minutes, I, 92. At this time (1687) Third Haven contained also Tuckahoe, Bayside, Choptank, Betty's Cove (which was shortly thereafter transferred to Third Haven Meeting-house) and Chester. Cecil and Transquaking had not yet been organized as Weekly Meetings.

County returned that there was no Quaker meeting-house. The Sheriff of Charles reported that there "are two Quakers, but none of their meeting houses."

The Sheriff of Somerset answered "no Quakers," in spite of the three meetings of Annemessex, Monie, and Bogerternorton (Pocatynorton) known to have been in existence at this time! The Sheriff of Dorchester made a similar reply — overlooking Transquaking Meeting and one or more other groups. In 1695 Third Haven Monthly Meeting had appointed William Kennerly and John Foster "to gett the meeting-houses in Dorchester county put upon record at their next county Court."<sup>56</sup>

The Talbot County Quakers had, it was recorded, "a small meeting house" at Ralph Fishbourne's (Bayside) and at Howell Powell's (Choptank) and another one between Kings Creek and Tuckahoe (Tuckahoe). These were clapboard houses "about twenty feet long." A larger one, "about fifty feet long," was at the head of Tredhaven Creek (Third Haven). The Sheriff of Kent reported a meeting-house about thirty feet long and twenty feet wide "upon a branch of a Creek running out of Chester River, called Island Creek" (the Chester Meeting). No return appears to have been made by the Sheriff of Cecil County.<sup>57</sup>

The early "testimony" of Quakers against swearing or taking oaths caused them to encounter many difficulties as witnesses, administrators of estates, guardians of orphans, and as public officials. Their refusal to take oaths had as its reason "the double standard of truthfulness which taking an oath implies."<sup>58</sup> Friends in Maryland frequently attempted to obtain relief from the disabilities which they suffered on this account.

In 1674 the Upper House of the Assembly of Maryland received a petition from certain Quakers who asked that Friends be relieved of the necessity of taking oaths. They should be allowed to make their "yea, yea, and nay, nay," subject to the same punishment, if they broke with that, as those who broke their oaths or swore falsely.<sup>59</sup> This petition, prepared by Wenlock Christison, William Berry, and two other Friends, asked that an affirmation be substituted for an oath (which was already allowed in Rhode Island, New Jersey, and Jamaica). The Burgesses voted

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 136.

<sup>57</sup> Norris, *op. cit.*, pp. 26-27.

<sup>58</sup> Russell, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

<sup>59</sup> Norris, *op. cit.*, p. 19.



to grant this right to the Maryland Quakers but the Council would not concur.<sup>60</sup>

In 1677 and 1678, as a result of their refusal to take oaths, Maryland Friends were subjected to heavy fines. William Penn attempted to intercede with Lord Baltimore on their behalf in this matter, but it was ten years before the latter granted them relief.<sup>61</sup> The next year, on the 8th of the 6th Month, 1679, the Quakers in the colony saw fit to make another attempt:

Friends on the Eastern and Western Shore Judging it meet that Two friends Should be made choice of on Each Shoare to attend the Assembly on the truths account left it to the choyce of the friends on Each shoare to pitch upon Such friends as they did Judg meet. . . . This meeting hath made a choice and do Request Wm. Berry and Tho: Taylor to attend that Service, and if anything should happen So as to deter Either of them from the Said Service then the meeting hath made Choice and doth Request Wm. Southebee to Supply his place in that service and to meete with Friends on the Western Shoare at the City of Mary=s by the 3rd day of the Assembly=s Sitting if the Lord permits.<sup>62</sup>

An act passed in 1681 by both houses of the Assembly granting relief to Friends was disallowed by the Proprietor "for reasons of state."<sup>63</sup> In 1688 Lord Baltimore by proclamation dispensed with oaths in testamentary cases. The Quarterly Meeting, held at Herring Creek on the 7th of the 9th Month, 1688, produced a letter of thanks to Lord Baltimore for this favor.<sup>64</sup> In 1692, when Sir Lionel Copley arrived to take over the government of Maryland from the hands of the Committee of Safety (after the overthrow of Lord Baltimore), John Edmondson, of Talbot, and Thomas Everden (Everdine), of Somerset, who were elected members of the Assembly, asked to be allowed to make the usual declaration of Quakers—rather than the prescribed oath. Although the Lower House agreed, the Upper House, consisting of the governor and his council, refused. The two Quakers were therefore expelled from the Lower House.<sup>65</sup> It was not until 1702 that all political disabilities were removed from the Quakers.

The attempt to establish the English Church in Maryland began early. John Yeo, in seeking the aid of the Archbishop of Canterbury, wrote in 1676 that,

<sup>60</sup> John Fiske, *Old Virginia And Her Neighbors* (Boston, 1898), II, 153.

<sup>61</sup> Russell, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

<sup>62</sup> Third Haven Minutes, I, 15-16.

<sup>63</sup> Russell, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

<sup>64</sup> Norris, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

<sup>65</sup> Tilghman, *op. cit.*, II, 521.

There are in this province ten or twelve counties and in them at least twenty thousand souls and but three Protestant ministers of us that are conformable to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England. . . . No care is taken or provision made for building up Christians in the Protestant religion, for want of which not only many daily fall away to Popery, Quakerism, or fanaticism, but also the Lord's day is profaned, religion despised, and all notorious vices committed so that it is become a Sodom of uncleanness and a pest house of iniquity.<sup>66</sup>

It was Yeo's desire that a tax be levied for the maintenance of ministers of the Church of England; for this reason he has been charged with exaggerating the evils of the situation.<sup>67</sup> Be that as it may, he was nonetheless instrumental in causing the English Church, through the Committee on Trade and Plantations, to interfere from time to time with the proprietary government.<sup>68</sup> Lord Baltimore, in objecting to any establishment of the Church of England in Maryland, stated that at least three-fourths of the inhabitants of Maryland were Presbyterians, Anabaptists, Independents, and Quakers and that it would be difficult to get the Lower House to agree to a law compelling so large a proportion of the population to support the ministers of another denomination.<sup>69</sup>

With the Revolution of 1688 and the assumption of control of Maryland by the crown, the opposition of Lord Baltimore was nullified. A series of laws, from 1692 to 1702, succeeded in establishing the Church of England in Maryland — a situation that lasted until 1776. Of chief concern to the Quakers was the provision embodied in the establishment, which called for an assessment of forty pounds of tobacco per poll on all taxable persons to provide for the erection of church buildings and the support of Anglican ministers.<sup>70</sup>

From the very beginning the Quakers fought the establishment of the Church of England in Maryland — both by petition and non-observance. On the 5th of the 11th Month, 1693, Eastern Shore Friends were advised, concerning the forty pound poll tax, that "no friend ought to pay it Either directly or indirectly or any

<sup>66</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, V, 130-131.

<sup>67</sup> Newton D. Mereness, *Maryland As a Proprietary Province* (New York, 1910), p. 436.

<sup>68</sup> Elizabeth H. Davidson, *The Establishment of the English Church in Continental American Colonies* (Durham, 1936), pp. 26-27.

<sup>69</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, V, 132-133, 252-253, 261-263.

<sup>70</sup> See Davidson, *op. cit.*, p. 27; Mereness, *op. cit.*, p. 438.



other person for the use af[oresai]d it being antichristian so to do.”<sup>71</sup> In 1694 a paper was given forth from the Yearly Meeting at West River which cautioned Friends “to keep to their Antient Testimony and not to Concern with fighting or takeing away mens Lives nor Contributing towards maintaining Idollatrous priests nor their houses of Worship.”<sup>72</sup>

“Distrainments for priests’ wages” were of frequent occurrence. This practice led to many interesting occasions such as the following one which occurred in 1698:

William Trew acquaints this meeting y<sup>t</sup> he had a Servant taken by Execution (For y<sup>e</sup> 40 £ tobacco per poll to y<sup>e</sup> priest) Last first month which Servant had about tenn months to serve and now y<sup>e</sup> Servant has served out his time with Charles Tildon y<sup>e</sup> high Sheriff of Kent County and now y<sup>e</sup> Court had granted an Order against Wm. Trew for y<sup>e</sup> Sd Servants freedom corn and cloaths and he desires the meeting to advise wheather he Should pay it or not. The meeting having Considered the matter gives it as their Sence that he ought not to pay it and therefore advises him not to pay it.<sup>73</sup>

Eastern Shore Quakers were advised, in 1699, to keep an account of Friends’ sufferings “upon y<sup>e</sup> accompt of the 40£ tobacco per poll to y<sup>e</sup> Priest and for Building and Repairing their worship houses” and that this account be brought to the Quarterly Meeting. Those appointed, for each Weekly Meeting, were William Dixon for Third Haven, Ennion Williams for Bayside, James Ridley for Tuckahoe, William Stevens for Choptank, Daniel Cox for Transquaking, Henry Hosier for Chester, and George Warner for Cecil.<sup>74</sup>

Maryland Quakerism in the 17th century was a vital movement with a missionary spirit and emphasis. The records are full of references to travelling Quakers—both those from Maryland and those from outside Maryland. One of the largest recorded missionary parties of Friends travelling “in the service of Truth” is recorded in 1681 when Elizabeth Carter was accompanied on her “travailes to Delaware” by Ann Chew and Margaret Smith of the Western Shore and Bryon Omealia (Omealy), Mary Omealia, John Pitt, Sarah Pitt, John Wooters, William Southbee, Lovelace Gorsuch, Margaret Berry, and Sarah Edmondson of the Eastern Shore.<sup>75</sup>

<sup>71</sup> Third Haven Minutes, I, 128.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 130.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 160.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 163.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 41-43.

A revival of persecution against the Virginia Quakers took place from 1675 to 1680.<sup>76</sup> Maryland Quakers, whose interest in their brethren elsewhere led them into correspondence with Friends in Barbados<sup>77</sup> and attendance at other Yearly Meetings,<sup>78</sup> were troubled at this. It was recorded that

The Sad Estate and Condition of the Church in Virginia being seriously considered by this Meeting, it is the Sence of the Meeting they Should be visited for their good by such friends as find a Concern in their minds upon which Wm. Berry and Stephen Keddy finding themselves concerned in that serviss signified ye same to the Meeting, which the Meeting doth well approve of.<sup>79</sup>

Some time before, in early 1678, John Webb built a "boate Suitable for ye Service of Truth and accomodating friends in ye ministry in their Travailes to Virginia or Other ways." The Eastern Shore Friends, feeling it "to bee too great a charge to Lie upon him She being for publick Service on the acc<sup>o</sup> of truth," ordered him to be paid twenty-six hundred pounds of tobacco out of "ye stock" for this boat, later called *Ye Good Will*.<sup>80</sup>

The missionary impulse of Quakerism lasted well past the end of the 17th century. This was particularly true on the Eastern Shore where Friends meetings continued to grow in number and size far into the 18th century.<sup>81</sup>

The 17th century saw the introduction and firm establishment of Quakerism in Maryland. From a hated and much feared sect that was persecuted at its beginning, it grew into a respected movement that counted among its adherents many of the social and political leaders of the colony. The struggle of the Quakers against their political disqualifications was a successful one. With the establishment of the Church of England in Maryland, however, certain religious disabilities were encountered. Nevertheless the Society of Friends continued its growth in size and influence in Maryland as it entered the 18th century.

<sup>76</sup> Russell, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

<sup>77</sup> Third Haven Minutes, I, 31.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 79.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 30-31.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 9.

<sup>81</sup> Russell, *op. cit.*, p. 110.



# SPRINGFIELD FARM OF CONOCOCHEAQUE

By MARY VERNON MISH <sup>1</sup>

THE history of "Springfield" must forever remain incomplete since, like Topsy, the rambling dwelling somehow or other "just grewed." The interesting fact that it was once the home of General Otho Holland Williams, an officer under Washington during the Revolution, has not prevented it from sharing, along with the other early homes and sites of Western Maryland, a certain obscurity in regard to its origin.

Situated as Springfield is, at the junction of the once-important Conococheague Creek and the ever-important Potomac River, its history is inseparable from the saga of the land itself. The elongated main structure, representing a medley of architectural

<sup>1</sup> So many persons have generously assisted in the preparation of this paper that a complete list of contributors appears to be impossible to achieve. Nevertheless, a few names do take precedence. Among the foremost of these is the name of Dr. Arthur G. Tracey of Hampstead whose exhaustive researches on original surveys in the Land Office, Annapolis, were freely shared with the author. The Hall of Records, Annapolis, and the late Mr. Arthur Trader of the Land Office deserve their share of credit in the unweaving of a tortuous web of established anecdote.

Descendants of the Williams, Ross, and Humrichouse families who were important contributors toward solving the genealogical mysteries of their antecedents were Mrs. J. Frederick Fechtig of Hagerstown and Charleston, S. C.; Mr. J. Campbell Keighler of Providence, R. I.; Miss Mary Virginia Turner of Altoona, Pa.; and Mrs. Estys Tillard Gott of West River, Anne Arundel County, all members of the Williams family; Mr. F. Sims McGrath and Mr. Victor Weybright, both of New York, and descendants of the Ross family; and Mrs. William E. Post Duvall, born Humrichouse, who throughout the years opened Springfield to the appreciative inspection of the writer.

Among other contributors may be gratefully mentioned Mr. and Mrs. Glenn V. Kretsinger, recent owners of Springfield Farm, and their daughter, Mrs. Katherine Herbert who sketched the floor plan (redrawn for publication); Mrs. James F. Thompson, Jr., past Historian, Shenandoah Valley Chapter, NSDAR, Martinsburg, W. Va.; Mr. Parsons Newman and Judge Edward S. Delaplaine, both of Frederick; Miss Elizabeth Kieffer, Reference Librarian, Fackenthal Library, Lancaster, Pa.; Mrs. Lenore E. Flower, historian-genealogist, Carlisle, Pa.; and the late Mrs. Grace Stone Hetzel, genealogist, National Society of the Colonial Dames of America, of Wheeling, W. Va. Appreciation is expressed to the staff of the Maryland Historical Society. Many other persons were consulted, and to them as well as to those mentioned, the writer expresses sincerest gratitude.

units, is strung together like beads on a string. Over the years a procession of explorers, traders, cartographers, pioneer settlers, land speculators, Revolutionary officers, and Victorian landed gentry has helped to make present-day Springfield one of the most important, imperfect, and appealing homes of Western Maryland.

Historically speaking, the general site of Springfield Farm was always strategic. Here the Indian Road by the Treaty of Lancaster in 1744 dropped down from Pennsylvania and, fording the Potomac, crossed into the Valley of Virginia.<sup>2</sup> The name "Conneu Botham," an early patented tract on the Potomac, situated to the south of the ford, told a double story of an Indian landing-place and of some French-tongued trader's outpost on the frontier.<sup>3</sup> In addition, the great spring, apex of an aqueous triangle, was necessarily a major attraction, equaling the flow of Edmund Cartlidge's spring at "Fountain Rock"<sup>4</sup> and comparable to Jonathan Hager's water supply at "Hager's Fancy."<sup>5</sup> The son of a recent owner of Springfield Farm points out that artifacts lie in some abundance over the fields, and observes that it would be hard for anyone to think "that this was not once the site of an Indian village."<sup>6</sup>

In 1721 when Philemon Lloyd made his early map of the upper Potomac, he sketched in a cabin situated on the east bank of the Conococheague at the junction of this creek with the Potomac.<sup>7</sup> Graphically described as being situated at the mouth of the Conococheague, this cabin was designated by Lloyd as an "Indian trader's habitacon."<sup>8</sup> As traders providently settled in

<sup>2</sup> Matthew Page Andrews, *Tercentenary History of Maryland* (1925), I, 378n.

<sup>3</sup> Survey, Nov. 7, 1738, Prince George's Co., Env. No. 545, Land Office, Annapolis. Also survey, "Jack's Botham" at the mouth of the Conococheague, June 12, 1739, Liber LG No. 8, 56; patent, Dec. 12, 1739, Liber EI No. 2, 863.

<sup>4</sup> Patent, Dec. 16, 1739, Deed Book EI No. 6, 203, Land Office, Annapolis, courtesy Dr. Tracey.

<sup>5</sup> Survey, Dec. 16, 1738, Prince George's Co., Env. No. 1013, Land Office, Annapolis. Patent, July 18, 1739; Certificate of Survey, Liber LG, No. C, 43.

<sup>6</sup> Philip W. Kretsinger.

<sup>7</sup> W. B. Marye, "Patowmeck above ye Inhabitants," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXX (1935), 1-11. For Indian traders along the Potomac, see *ibid.*, 124-125, Frederick Gutheim, *The Potomac* (1949), p. 107. See also *Colonial Records of Pennsylvania*, III, 191, and M. H. Brackbill, "Peter Bezaillon's Road," *Papers of the Lancaster County Historical Society*, XLIII (1939), 8.

<sup>8</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, XXV, 394, 443. The proposal of the Governor of Maryland to meet at Charles Anderson's, "Indian trader," is geographically elastic. As Monocacy Hundred at that time included all taxables west of the Monocacy River (*Calendar of Maryland State Papers*, No. 1, *The Black Books* [1943], No. 272),



the neighborhood of aboriginal activity, speculation necessarily arises as to the possible existence there of some vanished Indian settlement.

In 1727, a few years after Lloyd's explorations, an Indian trader named Israel Friend was presented by the Indians with a vast tract which extended northwestward "200 shoots of the arrow" from the mouth of the Antietam River.<sup>9</sup> Friend's Indian grant, containing 72 square miles, stretched northward to the mouth of the Conococheague, and included the site of Springfield Farm.<sup>10</sup> This claim was not binding on Lord Baltimore who in 1736 set aside for himself not only a large portion of this area, but also a "Reserve of three square miles" around the Manor which he called "Conococheague."

His Lordship's "Manor of Conococheague and Reserve" led to many complications in regard to the patenting of some 20,000 acres of land in present-day Washington County.<sup>11</sup> While Lord Baltimore proceeded to lease various plantations within the Manor and its Reserve, no land patents were issued until a late date.<sup>12</sup> In the ensuing years parcels of land passed from owner to owner, with financial transactions engaged in, but with no patents being issued by the proprietary. This unusual condition led to extraordinary complications, and the names of one-time lease-holders and records of their land dealings were lost to historical remembrance. It is safe to say that scores of pioneers lived on this land, leased it, left it, and moved westward with no satisfactory account ever having been made of their migration.

An early survey of the Potomac made in 1736 by Benjamin Winslow indicated no owners for this land lying south of the Conococheague Creek on his Lordship's Manor and Reserve.<sup>13</sup>

Anderson's campsite at "Monoknesia" remains undetermined. On April 12, 1734, his ford over the Potomac, near Dogtown, was mentioned, (Survey, Prince George's Co., Liber EI No. 5, 382, "Sprigg's Delight," courtesy Dr. Tracey); Lease, Apr. 13, 1744, Fred. Co., Va., Liber 1, 83, description of George Williams' land "at Opeckon" . . . "above the road from Charles Anderson. . . ."

<sup>9</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, XXV, 451. Original land grant, signed by five Indian chiefs, formerly in the possession of George T. Prather, Friend descendant, Clear Spring, Md. Mr. Prather presented this deed to the Land Office.

<sup>10</sup> Interview with Mr. Prather.

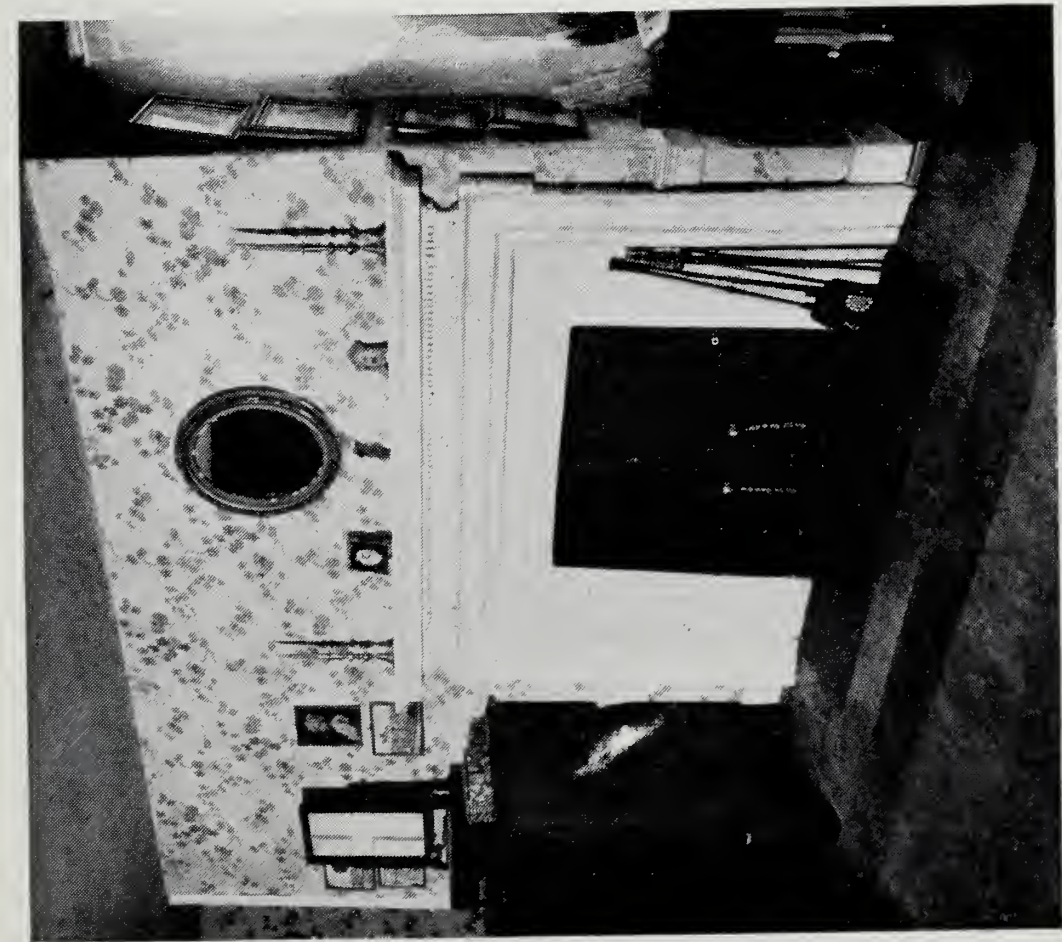
<sup>11</sup> Resurvey on "first intended bounds," Liber EI, No. 5, 580, Oct. 25, 1736, for 10,594 acres, Prince George's Co., Land Office, Annapolis.

Patent, Apr. 17, 1769 for 10,688  $\frac{1}{4}$  acres to John Morton Jordan, Liber BC & GS, 38, 72, Land Office, Annaolis, courtesy Dr. Tracey.

<sup>12</sup> G. M. Brumbaugh, *Maryland Records* (Baltimore, 1915-1928), II, 43 ff.

<sup>13</sup> James W. Foster, "Maps of the First Survey of the Potomac River, 1736-1737,"





FIREPLACE AND MANTEL  
in Second Floor North Bedroom.



STAIR HALL  
Showing Double Batted Door Toward the West.





THE SPRINGHOUSE  
The Spring is Under the Porch.



THE STOREHOUSE  
Now Used for Living Quarters.



That settlers were there, however, if only as "lessees," is indisputable.<sup>14</sup>

One of these earlier residents was Joseph Williams, "farmer," who lived on Limestone Hill, a tract which fell within the bounds of the Manor.<sup>15</sup> Williams was the father of Otho Holland Williams who was one day to own not only his father's plantation on the Potomac, but also the two adjoining tracts of "Leeds" and "Ezekiel's Inheritance," all of which in time comprised Springfield Farm and the town of Williamsport.

The 133 acres of "Limestone Hill" on Conococheague Manor were leased by Joseph Williams for twenty-one years on July 21, 1762.<sup>16</sup> "The tenant in possession" was one George Ross who on the previous June 23rd had leased, likewise on Conococheague Manor, an adjoining 300 acres for a like number of years from the Lord Proprietary, Ezekiel's Inheritance, the site of Springfield.<sup>17</sup> In so many words, Ross sub-let to Williams. The following year, on April 13, 1763, Williams conveyed "Limestone Hill" to George Ross for £300; the terms of the contract constituted those of a mortgage.<sup>18</sup>

A year later, again in April, "There came Joseph Williams, party to the within deed" and affixed his signature to the document in question.<sup>19</sup> The following week he was dead, as indicated by the Testamentary Proceedings of May 3, 1764.<sup>20</sup> George Ross was the administrator. As Prudence, Joseph's wife, was not mentioned, we must conclude that she had died prior to her husband and that their large family of eight children was now orphaned.

On July 12, 1768, Mercy, eighteen years of age and the eldest of the Williams children, became the mistress of Springfield Farm when she married George Ross, occupant of the original tracts which composed this site.<sup>21</sup> This marriage, however, was not destined to last long, for three years later Mercy was

*William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine*, 2d ser., XVIII (1938), 149-157.

<sup>14</sup> *The Black Books*, *op. cit.*, No. 357. Lease on Conococheague Manor, Oct, 1737. The tract already contained a house and orchards.

<sup>15</sup> Deed Book H, 666, Apr. 25, 1764, Frederick Co., Court House.

<sup>16</sup> Brumbaugh, II, 43.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>18</sup> Deed Book H, 666, Frederick Co., Court House.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>20</sup> Testamentary Proceedings (1763-4), 40, 327, Hall of Records.

<sup>21</sup> Undated letter of Mercy Kendal May to Mrs. Fechtig (now in her possession).



widowed.<sup>22</sup> She now had the necessity of making a home not only for her own brothers and sisters, but also for her two infant daughters, Prudence Holland Ross and Marion Ross.<sup>23</sup>

Fortunately for this young family, the property remained in Ross hands. It so happened that seven months after Limestone Hill had been conveyed by Joseph Williams to George Ross, original lessee, this tract together with Ezekiel's Inheritance had been resurveyed into "Ross's Purchase" by Dr. David Ross. Four years after George Ross' death these two tracts, totaling 528<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> acres, were patented to Dr. Ross.<sup>24</sup>

The Ross connection with the site of Springfield, as well as with the family of Williams, is highly important. Dr. David Ross, as half-brother of George Ross, Pennsylvania signer of the Declaration of Independence, and as brother-in-law of George Read, signer for Delaware, had great prestige and influence.<sup>25</sup> Marriage with Ariana Brice of Annapolis and apparent relationship with John Ross of "Bellevoyr," Annapolis, had early added to his lustre. It is to be noted that his father was the Rev. George Ross of New Castle, Delaware, and his mother, Joanna Williams of Rhode Island, said to have been a descendant of Roger Williams.<sup>26</sup> It was indeed Roger Williams' daughter Mercy who inspired this name among many generations of Williams' descendants.<sup>27</sup>

The conclusion that George Ross of Conococheague was the son of Dr. Ross by a former marriage seems to be reasonable. While the young George Ross was first mentioned in 1755 as Commissary for Braddock at the mouth of the Conococheague,<sup>28</sup> from that time onward for a full decade the land purchases and business operations of Dr. David Ross and of George Ross were seen to overlap and to interlock.<sup>29</sup> The cycle of relationship

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>24</sup> Patent Certificate, BC & GS No. 49, fol. 220, Frederick Co., Land Office, Annapolis.

<sup>25</sup> The ancestry of Dr. David Ross was kindly supplied from family papers by Mr. McGrath, a descendant through Dr. Ross' son, Major David Ross.

According to the family records of Miss Florence deCerkez, Dr. Ross' first wife was Eliza Cranston. Lenore Embick Flower, *Paper on the Parker-Grubb Memorials* (Carlisle, Pa., 1949), p. 10.

<sup>26</sup> J. W. Jordan, *Colonial Families of Philadelphia*, II, 1250; Flower, *loc. cit.*

<sup>27</sup> Genealogy compiled by Independence Chapter, NSDAR, 1949, *Roger Williams of Rhode Island*, see Index.

<sup>28</sup> *Colonial Records of Pennsylvania*, VI, 379.

<sup>29</sup> Deed Book K, 643, Frederick Co. Court House; *Pennsylvania Archives*, III, 197. Deed Book J, 529, Frederick Co. Court House.

among the early owners of the land which was eventually to comprise Springfield Farm, seemed to be completed when Dr. Ross served as administrator of George Ross' estate at the time of the latter's death in 1772.<sup>30</sup>

That the history of the site of Springfield Farm antedated George Ross' residence in the vicinity in 1755 is recorded fact. As early as 1750 a description of the survey on "Salisbury" referred to a contiguous tract as, "the land called Store House land. . . ." <sup>31</sup> Plotted out, Store House Land corresponds with Ezekiel's Inheritance.<sup>32</sup>

Prior to George Ross' ownership no known records tell the story of this land or of the storehouse upon it. There is a tradition in the community that the stone Springhouse at Springfield Farm was occupied by Col. Thomas Cresap. It seems not unlikely that the old Stillhouse, along with its adjacent Springhouse, was a focal point in fur-trade operations engaged in before Land Agents were too well informed on niceties of ownership in the hinterlands of Maryland. Whatever its enigmatic history, the fact remains that the storehouse was built upon unpatented land.

By superimposing the plats of Limestone Hill and of Ezekiel's Inheritance over a modern topographical map, it is discernable that Limestone Hill included most of present-day Williamsport, and that Ezekiel's Inheritance contained the sites of the main house on Springfield Farm, as well as the stone buildings now called respectively the Stillhouse and the Springhouse. From its location on the map, as well as from its architectural characteristics, it may be judged that the Stillhouse was the "Store House" of 1750, later used by George Ross for a similar purpose when he was Commissary at Conococheague during the French and Indian War.

That the main house on Springfield Farm, still standing today, was the residence of George Ross in the 1760s is likewise not impossible nor improbable. In addition, from the devotion which General Otho Holland Williams and his brother Colonel Elie Williams later evinced for it, the suggestion presents itself that

<sup>30</sup> Testamentary Proceedings (1771-72), 44, 606, Frederick Co., Hall of Records, Annapolis.

<sup>31</sup> Survey, Book No. 2, p. 79, Surveyor's Office, Washington Co. Court House.

<sup>32</sup> Plat drawn by Dr. Tracey.



Ross had early shared this home with the orphaned family of Joseph and Prudence Holland Williams.

Commissary Ross' death, followed only four years later by that of Dr. David Ross, must have represented severe losses for the young widow, Mercy. Although it is reasonable to assume that Dr. Ross had used the dwelling, Springfield, as a headquarters in Western Maryland for his speculative land operations and in the development of his numerous iron forges and furnaces, his will proves that his residence was at Bladensburgh.<sup>33</sup> It is notable that in his will Dr. Ross recommended the sale of all of his lands, other than those of the home property at Bladensburgh and of the Frederick Forge at the mouth of the Antietam.

After George Ross' death Springfield probably continued in the possession of his wife Mercy. She may even have temporarily remained there after her marriage on September 23, 1773, to Colonel John Stull, widower, and prior to her removal to her new home, "Millsborough."<sup>34</sup> It is to be recalled that Springfield Farm, as Ross's Purchase, was not patented to Dr. Ross until 1775, four years after George Ross' decease. Five years after the patent date, and following Dr. Ross' death, Otho Holland Williams had written to his sister Mercy that since the spring of 1775, he had spent very little time "at home."<sup>35</sup>

Exactly what happened in connection with Springfield Farm, following Dr. Ross' death, is also open to conjecture. It is probable that Otho Holland Williams had always planned to possess it, but that his dreams of ownership had been sadly shattered by the war years of the Revolution. From the steps which ensued it is certain that Williams' heart was centered on the tract which spelled "home" to him.

The legal steps are devious which finally resulted in General Williams' coming into possession of Springfield Farm. Furloughed at the end of the Southern Campaign in the Carolinas, where he had greatly distinguished himself, Williams arrived home, evidently intent on obtaining ownership of Springfield.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>33</sup> Prince George's Co. Wills, Box 13, folder 10 (1778), Hall of Records, Annapolis.

<sup>34</sup> Millsborough was probably the site of the old mill of John Stull, Sr., on the edge of Hagerstown. Colonel, later Judge, Stull acquired this.

<sup>35</sup> Nov. 24, 1780, Elizabeth Merritt (ed.), *Calendar of the General Otho Holland Williams Papers* (1940), pp. 29-30.

<sup>36</sup> Williams to Wm. Smallwood, July 20, 1782, and Williams to Nathanael Greene, July 22, 1782, *ibid.*, pp. 67-68.

It is not exactly known how the young man planned to raise the necessary funds to buy this estate, although, to be sure, his great friend Samuel Smith had written to him as early as the year 1780 that the commercial venture which he had undertaken for Williams seemed to be turning out well.<sup>37</sup>

Nor is it clear what transpired from the time that Ross's Purchase, with an additional  $40\frac{3}{4}$  acres, was resurveyed into the  $569\frac{1}{2}$  acres of the "Garden of Eden" in 1782, until the time when it was jointly patented on June 3, 1788, to General Otho Holland Williams and to Colonel Leonard Marbury. Surveyed on May 24, 1782, for Williams and Marbury,<sup>38</sup> on June 13 of that year David Ross, son of Dr. David Ross, deceased, "assigned a warrant of resurvey to Col. Leonard Marbury who had purchased said original tract."<sup>39</sup> The larger part of this grant Marbury then assigned on September 19, 1783, to General Williams.<sup>40</sup>

This assignment begins, "Whereas a tract of land called Ross's purchase situate in the county aforesaid was conveyed to Denton Jacques of the said county and by him bargained and sold to me. . . ." <sup>41</sup> It is to be observed that in 1786 Major David Ross, as one of his father's executors, had deeded all of Ross's Purchase to Denton Jacques in return for "200 tons of pigg iron, fifteen tons of bar iron and also of the sum of five Shillings. . . ." <sup>42</sup> In February of the following year Jacques in turn deeded all of the original Ross' Purchase to Williams who paid £2900 for this tract of  $528\frac{3}{4}$  acres.<sup>43</sup> Inasmuch as this property, then called the Garden of Eden, was surveyed for and patented to Williams and Marbury, the possibility exists that Major Ross "held a mortgage on the land, that he assigned the mortgage to Denton Jacques and that Jacques released the mortgage."<sup>44</sup>

If we followed popular tradition in regard to the home which

<sup>37</sup> Oct. 4, 1780, *ibid.*, pp. 22-23.

<sup>38</sup> Survey, May 24, 1782, Washington Co., Envelope No. 351, Land Office, Annapolis; June 3, 1788, Certificate Book IC No. D, 208.

<sup>39</sup> Warrant of Resurvey, IC No. C, 444, Frederick Co., Land Office, Annapolis.

<sup>40</sup> Envelope No. 351, Washington Co., Land Office, Annapolis.

<sup>41</sup> Denton Jacques, former owner of the Ft. Frederick Forge at Licking Creek (as opposed to the Frederick Forge at the mouth of the Antietam), was a nephew of the prominent land agent, Lancelot Jacques. Mortgage, Sept. 14, 1775, Frederick Co., BD No. 2, 70; Lease, Feb. 21, 1775, *ibid.*, BD No. 1, 180.

<sup>42</sup> Deed Book D, 632, Feb. 14, 1786, Washington Co. Court House.

<sup>43</sup> Deed Book E, 251, Feb. 20, 1787, *ibid.*

<sup>44</sup> Notes received by author from Dr. Tracey, 1950.



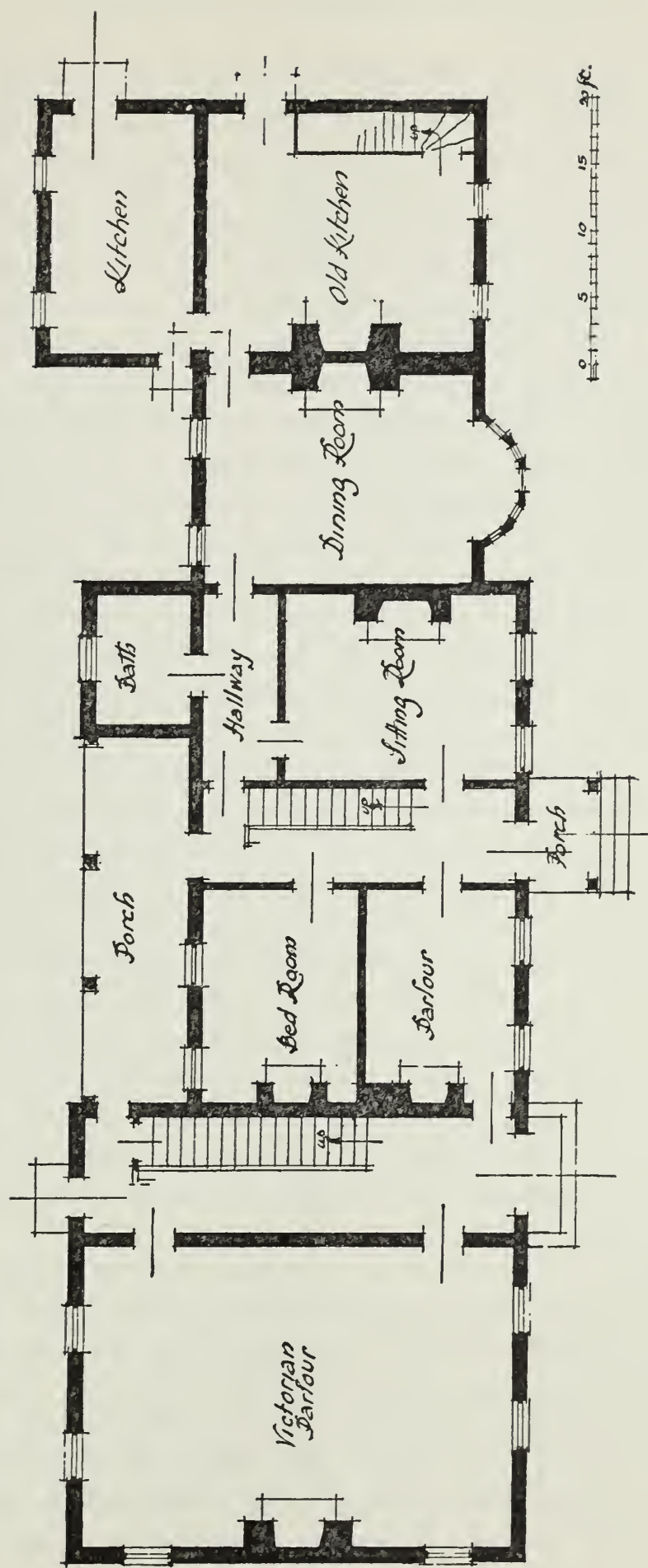
General Williams so painstakingly purchased for himself, we would say that he had "inherited" his property from his father. We would also report that the central portion of the main house—today known as Springfield—had been built by Joseph Williams when he "came to the mouth of the Conococheague in 1750." But research has proved that Joseph Williams' tract called Limestone Hill was not a part of, but was adjacent to, Ezekiel's Inheritance, the actual site of present-day Springfield Farm. The earliest extant records, as has been demonstrated, identify both of these original tracts as the property of George Ross, lawyer and merchant, a Scot by descent, and, along with the rest of his far-reaching clan, a canny land speculator.

That General Williams paid the substantial sum of £2900 for the original acreage of what was once Ross' Purchase would indicate that—for the year 1787—there were already considerable improvements upon this land. As Dr. David Ross did not reside at Springfield, and as Denton Jacques apparently was owner in name alone, it would appear that whatever building operations had been conducted on the estate were a carry-over from the occupation of the original owner, George Ross. In addition, a search through the local newspaper files of the period, covering the years of Williams' acquisition of the property and until three years after his death, disclosed no report of construction-work. A perusal of Williams' correspondence for the same period is equally unrevealing, although other improvements on other property are meticulously mentioned.

Architecturally, the central portion of Springfield, made of clapboarded bricks and logs, conforms with known types of frontier construction.<sup>45</sup> For its period, the dwelling is a large house of some importance, with its height of a full two-and-one-half stories; with its central hallways, upstairs and down; its conventional two rooms originally flanking the right and left sides, respectively. The battened double doors at either end of the entrance hall are unusual for Western Maryland.<sup>46</sup> Both pairs of doors have wooden bars which, slipped into place through wrought iron staples, still defy any unorthodox attempt at an entry.

<sup>45</sup> See Note 90.

<sup>46</sup> Two years ago the writer made a survey of over 200 old houses in the Washington Co., Md.—Berkeley Co., W. Va. area. Only two other similar sets of doors were noted, both on early type houses.



FIRST FLOOR PLAN OF SPRINGFIELD FARM



While Springfield has always been "kept up," a process which invariably involves remodeling, evidences of age are still apparent in the central structure. An original window-casing, with its wide, exposed frame, is extant in the attic or gable end. A simple, original mantel remains in an upstairs bedroom where, presumably, no one needed to be impressed. This mantel, a handsome embellishment, is almost identical to the one in the nuclear unit of Lawrence Washington's farm house, before the latter became George Washington's extensively remodeled mansion of Mount Vernon.<sup>47</sup> The handhewn beams of the cellar and of the attic, the general use of the chair rail, the smaller-than-ordinary panes of glass, the unusual structure of the house itself and the vast cellar fireplace attest to a valid claim of antiquity.

As a "mole's eye" view of the cellarless north addition will testify, this small brick wing was apparently added in two building operations. The most northerly section was once erected as a kitchen, but as time went on, the gap between this disconnected unit and the main brick-and-log house was bridged by neatly doubling the size of the brick structure. This operation brought about some drastic changes. It not only located the large kitchen fireplace in the approximate middle half of the wing, but also it altered the whole connecting end of the central portion.

In any event, for convenience, the whole outside north wall of the main house was rebuilt. It is probable that where one room and a back hall exist today in this log structure, prior to this early change, there were two rooms with two separate fireplaces. That these fireplaces would have made impossible the present arrangement is evident. A single fireplace, a back connecting hall and a bricked-up end wall, erected to blend neatly with the new brick wing, solved conveniently what might have been a heady problem for several generations.

Unhappily, because there is no known corroborating, recorded evidence, it must remain anyone's good guess when these units were added, one to the other. The original kitchen could readily have antedated the Revolutionary period. With its vast fireplace and inclosed stairway, its partial use of beaded pine paneling and mud-plaster walls, this room is of considerable interest. It is evident that the dormer windows were added when this portion became part of the main structure. That the bay window on the

<sup>47</sup> Thomas T. Waterman, *The Mansions of Virginia* (1946), 286, plate No. 1.

wing was not there until after 1879 is proved by a photograph taken at that date. The hooded bell, on the roof of this wing, once used for purposes of general alarm or for calling in the slaves from the fields, in later years was put to less dramatic use—that of calling the children of the family in to meals.<sup>48</sup>

The fourth and largest addition to Springfield was made long after the time of General Otho Holland Williams. This wing, erected in 1878 against the south wall of the now-central brick-and-log dwelling, must have been the pride and joy of its new owner, Charles W. Humrichouse. It was constructed of red brick in the best possible taste of the Victorian period. The drawing room, called “the parlor,” was Washington County’s largest, and the writer has seen, on occasion, one hundred guests comfortably seated around its perimeter. Until the last three or four years this room remained frozen in its past splendor, a striking example of rose-ringed Brussels carpet, rose-red draperies and lofty ceiling encircled with gilt cornices and molding. The glass-incased wax flowers were not missing, nor the small Victorian table in the center of the vast floor, nor, indeed, the “square” piano with the photograph album on its top. Elizabeth Barrett Browning could have entered this room, spread out her skirts and, with a sigh, complacently picked up her knitting. The only off-key note in this composition was a grim reminder of the new owner’s pioneer ancestry—Christian Hawken’s rifle, which stood at rest beside the marble mantel.

The present kitchen of Springfield, on the west side of the north wing, represented a kind of architectural bustle. Added by a later generation, it undoubtedly contributed to the comfort of the incumbent family; certainly from the esthetic point of view it added not one whit. Nevertheless, this unit, like all others, told its own story of how a house grew and continued to grow through succeeding generations.

A sixth unit made its phantom appearance with the knowledge that an earlier brick wing had stood where the Victorian structure was erected. Charles W. Humrichouse tore down this older section to make way for his own addition.<sup>49</sup> Who built this older part of the house and when remains a mystery.

From the east front Springfield is especially attractive, grandly

<sup>48</sup> Information received from Mrs. Duvall.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*



triumphing over Victorian wings and bays. On the central clap-boarded section the old pedimented two-story porch, with its squared columns and half-moon window in the apex, is given a gratifyingly mellowed air by its "half-concealing, half-revealing" wisteria vine. From the west or rear the house looks larger and a bit forgotten, no longer reminiscent of the days when it may have faced toward the setting sun, toward its great free-flowing spring only a stone's throw away, and toward the lordly Potomac, three-quarters of a mile from its door. Around the house still tower a few lofty trees. Some fragrant lilac bushes and a solitary grafted hawthorn tree which, blossoming in the spring in a burst of mingling light and dark blooms, attest to the horticultural enterprise of some early owner. Completely gone on the long entrance avenue are the clipped arborvitae, and gone, too, is the manicured English garden which once flowered on the east side of the sweeping expanse of front lawn.<sup>50</sup> Today only a few persons are left who can recall this past grandeur.

West of Springfield, a few yards from the Springhouse and comfortably built over its own "fountain," is the enchanting Stillhouse. In the days of the Potomac Company and of the later-developed C. & O. Canal, this stone building was used for the purpose of converting the Williams brothers' grain into whiskey. In its heyday there were many stillhouses around Williamsport, which was a central shipping-point for Georgetown, terminus for the Potomac water-route.

But this particular building would seem to antedate the great days of commercial traffic on the River and the Canal, and, in spite of restoration—which was fortunately sympathetic—shows practical evidence, under examination, of sustaining the documentary records pertaining to a "Store House" on the site of Ezekiel's Inheritance. Made of rough fieldstones, its north wall washed by the spring-fed waters of its miniature lake, its east front sheltered by its frowning, over-hung roof, the Stillhouse delights every antiquarian. Here and there are occasional signs of the exposed, wide door- and window-frames, with wooden pins in the two upper corners. The battened, iron-hung cellar door as well as the ventilators which, like lancet-slits, pierce the north wall are further evidence of its antiquity.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*

Twenty feet away, in front of the Stillhouse, is the Springhouse, likewise a time-weathered structure of rough fieldstones. The great spring, which now prosaically feeds water into the main house by way of a pipeline, flows out from the base of a limestone ledge, its perimeter edged by a semi-circle of stone, cut by some unknown, now long-forgotten mason. Examination proves that no chimney or fireplaces ever existed in this building, a condition which rules out the possibility of its having been built for use as a frontier home.

Around the main house still cluster the ice-house, smokehouse "office," and carriage-sheds. Down the driveway are scattered the various farm buildings, including the tenant-house and the vast barn with its limestone-walled inclosure.

A few yards north of the Springhouse, and a few feet west of the tenant-house, can be seen the remains of a rectangular stone foundation where, long ago, an early log-cabin stood. A dozen feet away is a great stone chimney with a later-built shed disinterestedly attached to it. Both the chimney and the aforementioned foundation, unrelated architectural units, are symbols of some untold story of the land upon which they rest.

General Williams, although the most prominent of Springfield Farm's owners, held this property the shortest number of years and probably occupied it least of all of those who could claim actual residence. Nevertheless, much of Springfield's fame is wrapped up in the personal glory which accrued to the name of this Revolutionary officer.

That General Otho Holland Williams had expected to live out his life at Springfield is almost certain, but his early appointment as Naval Officer for the Port of Baltimore,<sup>51</sup> and his marriage to Mary Smith, daughter of the prominent William Smith of Baltimore, changed his plans.<sup>52</sup> As is clear from his correspondence, the General by 1787 was in residence in Baltimore.<sup>53</sup> Meanwhile, the General's brother, Colonel Elie Williams, who had probably lived the major portion of his life at Springfield, maintained his residence there, as the letters written by both brothers testify.

<sup>51</sup> Jan. 6, 1783, Merritt, *Calendar*, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

<sup>52</sup> Family data from Mr. Keighler, grandson of Mrs. J. Campbell White, direct descendant of General Williams.

<sup>53</sup> Williams to Philip Thomas, Aug. 29, 1787, Merritt, *Calendar*, *op. cit.*, p. 148.



Although General Williams lived but a short time at Springfield, it was there his major interests centered. In November, 1786, an act was passed which created under its founder's guidance the Town of Williamsport.<sup>54</sup>

Following its establishment, Williamsport was swept up into sudden fame. By an Act of Congress, passed July 16, 1790, it was theoretically possible that the Capital of the United States would be located there.<sup>55</sup> General Williams' father-in-law, Representative William Smith, and Major David Ross, who was likewise a Representative, had both strived to bring this about.<sup>56</sup>

As a result of the violent controversy over the selection of a suitable location for the National Capital, President Washington visited Williamsport on October 20, 1790.<sup>57</sup> Although the President later decided in favor of the present site at Washington, and Congress amended its original Act on the following March 3, the excitement over the Presidential stopover was never forgotten.<sup>58</sup>

That President Washington stayed at Springfield Farm at the time of this particular Williamsport visit is likely for as soon as General Williams learned of the proposed trip of inspection, he immediately forwarded a letter of introduction for the benefit of his friend Dr. Thomas of Frederick, with instructions that the letter be forwarded to Colonel Elie Williams "so as to be delivered before the Pres[ident] arrives at Williamsport."<sup>59</sup> Regrettably, the local newspaper, *The Washington Spy*, reported none of the particulars of the President's visit, but happily caroled that

the President visited Hagers-Town yesterday afternoon [and that] this morning [he left for Williamsport] in order to take passage down that noble River (the American Thames) which will be proud to waft him home.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>54</sup> J. T. Scharf, *History of Western Maryland* (Philadelphia, 1882), II, 1222-23.

<sup>55</sup> Acts of Congress, July 16, 1790, and March 3, 1791, *Annals of the Congress of the United States* (Washington, 1834), First Congress, II, 2234-2235, 2340-2341.

<sup>56</sup> Williams to Ross, Sept. 1, 1788; Smith to Williams, Aug. 17 and 31, 1789, and July 15, 1790. Merritt, *Calendar*, pp. 156, 187-188, 189, 220.

<sup>57</sup> *Washington Spy*, October 21, 1790.

<sup>58</sup> Beside the Acts (cited in Note 55), see Tobias Lear, *Observations on the River Potomack* (New York, 1793) or Samuel T. Chambers' edition of the Lear pamphlet (Baltimore, 1940).

<sup>59</sup> Oct. 20, 1790. Merritt, *Calendar*, *op. cit.*, p. 226.

<sup>60</sup> Oct. 21, 1790.

Of this visit, however, one historian later wrote,

He [Washington] pointed out to his host, as they stood at the fountain on Springfield farm, an old hut, which he said was the only improvement to be seen on the face of the country thirty years before. This hut had been the dwelling of the noted Colonel Cresap.<sup>61</sup>

As Otho Holland Williams was in Baltimore, the President's host was Colonel Elie Williams, provided, no doubt, with a letter of introduction from his brother.

Many years later, Colonel Elie Williams' son, who was General Otho Holland Williams II recalled the President's visit to Springfield.<sup>62</sup> In addition, Sarah Sargent Williams, daughter of General O. H. Williams II maintained the glamor of the occasion by keeping throughout the years a white linen tablecloth upon which General Washington had spilled coffee during his Springfield visit. This tablecloth, never washed, from time to time was taken out of its obscurity and proudly exhibited to family and to friends.<sup>63</sup>

When General Williams died in 1794, he left his wife Mary, her father William Smith, his friend Dr. Philip Thomas, and his brother Elie Williams as his executors.<sup>64</sup> To Elie he willed the Garden of Eden, namely, Springfield. Making certain bequests to various members of his family, he asked that the remainder of his estate be equally divided between his wife and their children, when the latter should come of age.

Colonel Elie Williams, who inherited the Garden of Eden from his brother, was a man of parts in his own right. As manager of

<sup>61</sup> Scharf, *ibid.*, II, 1223. While it is definitely established that Washington was in Williamsport in 1790, there are inaccuracies concerning accounts of the visit. General Otho Holland Williams II could not have been the "small boy" who sat on General Washington's knee, as the former was then, according to family records, fifteen years old. Mrs. Gott, descendant, has data which places a second visit at Springfield on October 14 and 15, 1794. During a trip made by Washington at the time of the Whiskey Rebellion, he wrote on October 13, 1794, "Breakfasted at Greencastle 10 miles [from Chambersburg], and lodged at Williamport 14 miles further." Williamsport was described as "being on the Banks of the Potomac at the mouth of Conagocheague." (J. C. Fitzpatrick, ed.), *The Diaries of George Washington, 1784-1799* (1925), IV, 209-219). Although General Otho Holland Williams had died less than three weeks prior to this visit of 1794, Col. Elie Williams may have once more played host to the President and to his entourage.

<sup>62</sup> "E. W. B." (Elizabeth Williams Bell, great-great-granddaughter of Col. Elie Williams) in *Baltimore Sun*, April 23, 1905.

<sup>63</sup> Interview with Mrs. Fechtig, who used to watch her grandmother show off this tablecloth.

<sup>64</sup> Copy of will, Frederick Co. Court House, Liber BGM, No. 3, p. 38; probated Sept. 24, 1794.



Springfield Farm for approximately 40 years, he added distinct lustre to the history of this estate. His notable services as Quartermaster of Militia in the Revolution, as well as similar services for the Harmar Campaign, his assignment as president of the commission to lay out the National Road, and as surveyor for the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal, so testify.<sup>65</sup>

In due course, Colonel Williams' many obligations and the social prominence of his wife, Barbara (Grosh) Williams, along with the demands of their large family, undoubtedly lured them away from residence at Williamsport.<sup>66</sup> For about a decade before his death, it would therefore appear that Colonel Williams had not been either manager or owner of Springfield Farm.<sup>67</sup> Furthermore, he may not have lived at Springfield for almost 30 years, from the time when he had turned it over to a tenant and made his own permanent residence in Hagerstown.<sup>68</sup> In spite of this property's having been willed to Colonel Williams, Edward Greene Williams, son of General Williams, came into possession of the estate about 1810. The War of 1812 undoubtedly interfered with his taking possession, but by 1814 he was seemingly entrenched at Springfield.<sup>69</sup> In the meantime, his Uncle Elie lived in Georgetown and his brother, William Elie Williams, had come into his share of his father's estate and took over the plantation called Ceresville, near Frederick.<sup>70</sup>

Throughout the years of Colonel Elie Williams' management of Springfield, none of his or General Williams' letters mention any building operations on the farm. As the two brothers corresponded about details of construction work upon other properties, omission of similar discussion in regard to Springfield would indicate that no important additions or changes were made over a long period.

<sup>65</sup> Scharf, *ibid.*, II, 978, 1233; *Congressional Record*, 2nd Session, Ninth Congress, Jan. 31, 1807. E. G. Greene to W. E. Williams, Sept. 24, 1822. Merritt, *Calendar*, *op. cit.*, pp. 401-402.

<sup>66</sup> The family was probably in residence in Georgetown in 1815. Elie Williams to W. E. Williams, Feb. 23, 1815. Merritt, *Calendar*, *op. cit.*, p. 357.

<sup>67</sup> E. G. Williams to W. E. Williams, June 28, 1814. Merritt, *Calendar*, *op. cit.*, p. 353.

<sup>68</sup> O. H. Williams to Philip Thomas, Mar. 14, 1792. *Ibid.*, p. 252. Col. Elie Williams had maintained a town house in Hagerstown for many years (Washington Co. Surveyor's Office, Book No. 2, 137, Apr. 12, 1784).

<sup>69</sup> See Note 67. The writer could discover no legal instrument in regard to this transfer.

<sup>70</sup> Wm. Smith to W. E. Williams, Merritt, *Calendar*, *op. cit.*, p. 346.

While General Williams employed the name of "Springfield" only once in his long correspondence, his son, Edward Greene Williams, used the name freely.<sup>71</sup> In fact, in the latter's first recorded message to his brother, William Elie, he used the address of "Springfield," and said that he was busy "at home."<sup>72</sup>

Edward Greene Williams was a man of some distinction, and during his ownership Springfield undoubtedly rose to the rank of a great estate. He married the daughter of William Gilmor, Anne, who brought to bear her own family's influence upon the household at Conococheague.<sup>73</sup> That this couple had a mutual great-grandfather in the person of Isaac Smith, Jr., of Baltimore, was one of the more auspicious facts concerning this marriage.<sup>74</sup>

When Edward Greene Williams lived at Springfield, the life of the country gentry in Washington County was in its heyday. That he loved his farm and his days spent upon it, is evident when he wrote that his wheat was "the brag field of the County"; that he had caught cold from wet feet in his enthusiasm to transfer trout from the mountain freshets to his spring; that his wonderful crops of the year 1818 were being gathered in by his "Virginia tenantry" who were good reapers. In this same year he spoke of "their" threshing-machine at Ringgold's, and of its first use in Washington County. On October 9 he said that he was about to see the operation of the thresher, (probably at Springfield), and that he was also expecting to try "one of the corn shellers."<sup>75</sup>

There must have been many parties at Springfield during these roseate years, for his father's old friend Dr. Richard Pindell,<sup>76</sup> in 1816 wrote<sup>77</sup> from Kentucky to Edward Greene Williams that he missed "the truly convivial parties we used to enjoy in my old walks about Hager's Town, Fountain Rock,<sup>78</sup> Springfield, Mount Pelier<sup>79</sup> and Long Meadows."<sup>80</sup> Among the more important

<sup>71</sup> See Note 68.

<sup>73</sup> Family data in possession of Mr. Keighler.

<sup>72</sup> See Note 67.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>75</sup> E. G. Williams to W. E. Williams, Oct. 9, 1818. Merritt, *Calendar, op. cit.*, pp. 393-394.

<sup>76</sup> Surgeon, 1st Md. Regt. under O. H. Williams, 1777; with Greene, under Williams, until end of Revolution.

<sup>77</sup> Sept. 16, 1816, Merritt, *Calendar, op. cit.*, pp. 365-366.

<sup>78</sup> Home of Gen. Samuel Ringgold, Washington Co.; now site of St. James School.

<sup>79</sup> Home of John Thomson Mason, Clear Spring, Md. Mason was a nephew of George Mason of Va.

<sup>80</sup> Home of Col. Thomas Hart, northeast of Hagerstown. Hart was father-in-law to Dr. Pindell and to Henry Clay.



guests at Springfield at this time were members of the illustrious Patterson family, including the famous Betsy.

During General Edward Greene Williams' residency at Springfield, only one reference was made to improvements on the house. In a letter to his brother William Elie of Ceresville, he urged that "the slate Man" should come immediately to cover the dwelling "handsomely and durably."<sup>81</sup>

Today one vibrant memento of this family's occupancy remains. On some anniversary now forgotten, or merely through some whimsy of the moment, General Williams and his wife had inscribed on one of the small panes of glass in the front central portion of Springfield, "Edward and Anne Williams, June 12, 1821." The signatures are there for all to wonder at.

When General Edward Greene Williams died on February 7, 1829, he left a will which specified that his estate was to be divided between his wife and his daughter, Mary Smith Williams, when the latter should have attained her eighteenth year.<sup>82</sup> The management of all his family affairs he entrusted to the care of his father-in-law, William Gilmor of Baltimore.

The precise status of Springfield during the ensuing years is not known. It was apparently operated by farm managers under the eagle eye of William Gilmor. One of these managers, the able Samuel Wishard, was said to have farmed the property some time prior to the Civil War. In any event, through the Court of Chancery, the property eventually came into the hands of Mary Smith Williams. Her husband, the Rev. John Campbell White, a brother of Governor William Pinkney Whyte of Virginia, was a trustee for the estate.<sup>83</sup>

During the Reverend and Mrs. White's ownership of Springfield the Civil War shattered the peace of the country and of Washington County. Their farm was taken over as a Union campsite. A signal-tower was erected on the hill in the woods to the northeast, and the virgin timber was cut for military needs.<sup>84</sup> Mrs. White later said that the "giant oak and elm trees" were

<sup>81</sup> July 17, 1817, *ibid.*, p. 376.

<sup>82</sup> Will Book C, Apr. 11, 1829.

<sup>83</sup> Family disagreement changed the spelling of the names of the two White/Whyte brothers. Their grandfather was William Pinkney, U. S. Senator, and Minister to England, Russia, and Italy. For obituary of Mrs. J. Campbell White see *Baltimore Sun*, May 2, 1907.

<sup>84</sup> Interview with Mrs. Duvall.

"felled to build camp quarters, and for four years the depredations incident to war despoiled its beauty," a primeval beauty which no one can today recollect.<sup>55</sup> For this reason, among others, Mrs. White and her husband decided to part with Springfield Farm. By virtue of their Ross connections, the Williams family had been associated with the estate for a full century when it was finally sold at the end of the Civil War.

The new owner, Charles W. Humrichouse, a Baltimore sugar merchant, purchased Springfield Farm on April 8, 1864. For the sum of \$16,000, he acquired "part of a tract known as 'Garden of Eden,' part of a tract known as 'Leeds' and part of the tract called Number 7, containing 211 acres, 13 rods and 10 perches."<sup>56</sup>

At this period the farm and buildings must have been in poor repair, for the premises had been in the hands of tenant farmers during the war years. At the beginning of the Civil War the house had been occupied by the Febrey family; later by a Mrs. Lancaster and her three sons, Benjamin, Jacob and William, who were in residence when the property was sold to Mr. Humrichouse.<sup>57</sup>

Under new ownership Springfield blossomed once again. The great Victorian wing was added and, on the grounds, unusual shrubs and evergreens were planted. A faded photograph is still extant which shows the clipped pyramidal and prostrate varieties of arborvitae which lined the long entrance avenue. From the house the close-cut and well-trimmed lawns spread out on the east toward the inclosed, formal English-type garden, and, to the west, toward the naturalized area with its miniature lake, steep-banked springs and tumbling creek, which embowered the Stillhouse and Springhouse.

In 1879 Charles Humrichouse retired to Springfield and lived there until his death on March 1, 1903, aged seventy-nine. For a quarter of a century, by closely supervising his property, he had made Springfield "a model farm, and set an example in methods of farming which was an advantage to the whole community."<sup>58</sup>

Like the previous owners of Springfield, the Humrichouse family had many interesting antecedents and connections, among them the legendary Rev. Christian Frederick Post of the French

<sup>55</sup> Emily Emerson Lantz. "Maryland Heraldry," in *Baltimore Sun*, Apr. 2, 1905.

<sup>56</sup> Deed Book IN, 17, Washington Co., May 24, 1864.

<sup>57</sup> Williamsport Chamber of Commerce, *Williamsport and Vicinity* (1934).

<sup>58</sup> Scharf, *op. cit.*, II, 1238.



and Indian War period, the heroic Captain Peter Humrichouse of the Revolution, and the now-famous gunsmith, Christian Hawken. Through Christian Hawken's granddaughter Mary, Charles Humrichouse had four children who, with their descendants, in time became known as The Humrichouse Heirs. One of Mr. Humrichouse's granddaughters, Mrs. John Ridgely, Sr., became mistress of Hampton.<sup>89</sup>

The old cliché that "Time and tide wait for no man" is well exemplified in the present history of Springfield. For the better part of a century, under Humrichouse management, the house and farm held a distinctive place in the community. Well-tended under direction of the Heirs, it was used somewhat as a refuge in both sickness and health. The Christmas "At Homes" were the order of the day, and here, more than at any other Washington County home, the country gentry were annually wont to present themselves, right up until the blast at Pearl Harbor. Springfield-cured ham, aged in the old smokehouse, and eggnogg and beaten biscuits, made in the Maryland tradition, tempted the guests, while at the same time the hospitality of the various members of the family set a high level for entertaining.

World War II, along with the subsequent death of Charles Humrichouse, grandson of the first of that name to own Springfield, changed a traditional way of living. In 1948 the entire property was sold by the Humrichouse Heirs to Mr. and Mrs. Glenn V. Kretsinger of Williamsport. The oldest and central portion of the house, with small brick wing attached, remained the home of Mrs. William E. Post Duvall, granddaughter of Charles W. Humrichouse. The Stillhouse was purchased back from the estate in 1949 by another granddaughter, Mrs. C. Goodloe Edgar of Washington and Detroit.

The character of the farm has, of necessity, changed with the changing times. Under the management of Mr. Kretsinger Springfield Farm, for the first time, assumed 20th century coloration. Near the entrance avenue a drive-in theater was situated on the Williamsport-Hagerstown highway. Building lots were sold off this frontage, as well as off the south margin of the property on the Boonsboro-Williamsport turnpike. The Victorian wing was remodeled as the residence of the owners, with the full-

<sup>89</sup> H. H. Humrichouse, *Rev. Christian Post and Peter Humrichouse* (1913).

length downstairs windows "bricked up" to standard size, the high ceilings lowered, the "parlor" divided in the best modern manner into a still large living room with a separate dining room kitchen. The "office" and the Springhouse were remodeled into individual housing units. It is therefore to be seen that the days when one family dominated the whole have definitely passed. Still in appreciative hands, however, the house itself survives these transformations which were made, not through callous disregard, but rather through the demands of a changing world.

In April, 1952, this historic plantation somewhat unexpectedly again changed hands. Purchased by Mr. and Mrs. W. Howard Roney of Hagerstown, the main house is destined to undergo additional structural modifications which once more will adapt it to the current needs of an incumbent family.<sup>90</sup> While these last few years have been turbulent ones in its history, modern vicissitudes have, however, touched but lightly upon the shell of an old and honored house. The spirit of hospitality which this property has always inspired continues in its seemingly endless way. Because of this and similar intangibles, Springfield Farm can still turn back the imagination to other more opulent times.

<sup>90</sup> In July of this year (1952) Mr. Roney invited the writer to look over Springfield in its dismantled state. The walls of the central unit, stripped of plaster, were extraordinarily interesting. A framework of heavy wooden-pinned timbers supported the window and door-frame apertures; the walls were further braced by diagonally placed beams filled in with a nogging of small, soft bricks. This structural plan, rarely found today, and reminiscent of 15th and 16th century English architecture, has a single counterpart in Frederick County's sorely neglected Mill Pond House (made of stone, timber, and wattling and presumably built prior to 1746 by Jacob Stoner who already had a mill on this tract).

The end walls of the central unit are made of large bricks, and the construction, free of diagonally placed timbers and nogging, is obviously later than that of the front and back walls. In addition, no bonding at the corners is evident—a condition which further supports the previously expressed theory that structural changes were made at some indeterminate time.

High up on one of these end walls the workmen recently discovered the date "1776," followed by the signatures of "four or five men." Unfortunately, the names were neither then recorded nor are they now remembered. A window, apparently bricked up when the small, adjoining north wing was added, occupied this uniformly plastered area. This architectural patchwork, combined with the finding of dated signatures, confirms the assumption that the north wing, as well as the central structure, was pre-Revolutionary. As far back as can be recollected this particular wall-space, recessed between the chimney-breast and the front wall, was snugly filled by a large Victorian wardrobe, used as a cupboard. Presumably, it had been in place, at the very latest, since 1879 when Charles W. Humrichouse had finally retired to Springfield.



## A JOHN HANCOCK LETTER WRITTEN WHEN CONGRESS WAS LEAVING BALTIMORE TOWN \*

WHEN General Washington retreated across the Delaware to Trenton on December 8, 1776, he left the route to Philadelphia in a defenceless position. The Continental Congress decided that its seat of government was about to be captured by the British and on December 12 passed a resolution to adjourn from Philadelphia and meet in Baltimore on the 20th.<sup>1</sup> So it happened that for a few months Baltimore Town in Maryland became the refuge for the Congress of the newly-formed United States.

Upon arrival in Baltimore the delegates were keenly disappointed with the new location for Congress. Oliver Wolcott believed that Baltimore was infinitely the most dirty place he ever was in. William Hooper called it a "dirty infamous extravagant hole" which the devil had reserved to himself. Others echoed the same sentiments about the mud and filth of Baltimore, a complaint which was matched only by protests at the high cost of living in the Maryland town.<sup>2</sup> Added to the physical discomforts of the delegates was their irritation at having left themselves open to ridicule and criticism by their hasty "flight" from Philadelphia, for Howe had not advanced upon Philadelphia as expected.

Among those who thought that moving to Baltimore had been a mistake was John Hancock, President of Congress, and he was

\* Prepared for publication by the Associate Editor.

<sup>1</sup> W. C. Ford (ed.), *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789* (Washington, 1906), VI, 1027.

<sup>2</sup> A number of these letters of complaint about Baltimore can be found in Edmund C. Burnett, *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress* (Washington, 1923), II. See also Edith Rossiter Bevan, "The Continental Congress in Baltimore, Dec. 20, 1776, to Feb. 27, 1777," *The Maryland Historical Magazine*, XLII (1947), 21-28.

impatient for a return to Philadelphia. Hancock had found moving his regal entourage and his "First Lady" to Baltimore a great inconvenience and he was dissatisfied with the accommodations in the congested town. He also felt that the absence of Congress from Philadelphia was a damper on the spirits of the Patriots and that a return to that city would give a new spring to their cause.<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, it was cumbersome and inefficient trying to keep in touch with the affairs of the army through the Committee of Congress in Philadelphia, headed by Robert Morris. Bad roads and the frequent stoppage of despatches at the Susquehanna Ferry made communications slow and undependable.

On February 17, 1777, Congress decided to adjourn from Baltimore on the 25th and meet in Philadelphia on March 5. After the resolution of adjournment was passed, Hancock wrote the following letter<sup>4</sup> to Robert Morris which reveals his impatience to get started towards Philadelphia:

Baltimore Febr'y. 18<sup>th</sup>. 1777

My Dear Sir

I have Detain'd the Express to this morn'g. waiting for some Papers from the Printer, but as he has disappointed me, I Send him off, and am to Acquaint you that yesterday I Rec'd Directions from Congress, to Adjourn on Tuesday next 25<sup>th</sup> Inst<sup>t</sup>. from the Town of Baltimore to the *City of Philadelphia*, this I dare Say will afford you pleasure, and I am to Request that immediately on Receipt of this you will please to Issue orders to Mr Hiltzheimer for four good cover'd Waggon, with four good Horses & a sober Driver to each, to be Sent to me with all possible Dispatch to Convey down to Philad<sup>a</sup>. the Publick Papers &c, do let them be well Chosen, and I beg your immediate Attention to this—

The Inclos'd Resolves when you have perus'd them, do forward to the Gen<sup>l</sup>. by any Oppor[tunit]y.—

As I shall soon have the pleasure of seeing you in Philad<sup>a</sup>. I shall not add, but Refer what I have farther to Say for a social hour If, my Friend, I can be of any Service to Mrs Morris on my way, let me know it, & you may Depend I shall most chearfully obey you, would you Chuse her to Come in Company with us, I will Call for her & Conduct her with all the

<sup>3</sup> John Hancock to Robert Morris, Jan. 14, 1777, *Collections of New York Historical Society*, XI (1878), 414.

<sup>4</sup> This letter was purchased from a dealer by the Maryland Historical Society. Part of it was published in Burnett, *Letters*, II, 260 (letter 362).



Safety & Care in my power Give me but a hint, & it shall be Complied with—I Judge I shall be in Philad<sup>a</sup>. by Saturday or Sunday week,

God Bless you, Remember me to all friends

I am

Yours affection<sup>e</sup> Friend &c

Your Letters I have Rec'd  
to 15th Inst.

John Hancock

Don't forget the Waggon

Did you Send the Express to Boston

as desir'd in mine of 10 Jany. with the Letter then Inclos'd, I have had no Return—

The North Carolina Express is impatient

Money went off yesterday, for you, Gen<sup>l</sup> Mifflin & Council of Safety—

Hon<sup>l</sup> Mr Morris—

Later the same day Hancock wrote another letter again urging Morris to “hurry on the waggon,” since he couldn't move without them.<sup>5</sup> Morris, however, sent a message from General Washington instead of the wagons.<sup>6</sup> Washington felt that America was in one of its most critical periods, even though the enemy was not yet in actual motion, and he strongly urged Congress to delay the return to Philadelphia.<sup>7</sup> As a consequence of the combined pressure from Washington and Morris, Congress suspended its removal for a few days,<sup>8</sup> but on February 27 decided to adjourn and meet in Philadelphia on the previously arranged date of March 5th. This gave Hancock even less time to get wagons for removing his baggage before Congress sat again.

On the same day that the adjournment resolution was passed Hancock received the distressing information that Morris had countermanded his orders for wagons.<sup>9</sup> Hancock promptly wrote to Morris complaining that his action now forced him to leave both State Papers and the whole of his family behind while he set off in great mortification at the embarrassment Morris had inadvertently caused him. “For God's Sake,” he begged, “hurry the

<sup>5</sup> Burnett, *Letters*, II, 260 (footnote 2, letter 362).

<sup>6</sup> Committee in Philadelphia to George Washington, Feb. 22, 1777, Burnett, *Letters*, II, 272.

<sup>7</sup> Washington to Joseph Reed, Feb. 23, 1777, John C. Fitzpatrick (ed.), *The Writings of George Washington* (Washington, 1932), VII, 192.

<sup>8</sup> The President of Congress (John Hancock) to Robert Morris, Feb. 26, 1777, Burnett, *Letters*, II, 281.

<sup>9</sup> John Hancock to Robert Morris, Feb. 27, 1777, Burnett, *Letters*, II, 286.

Waggon along.”<sup>10</sup> There was no mistaking the eagerness of the Continental Congress’s President to leave Baltimore behind and join his friends in Philadelphia for a “social hour.”

The next time Congress took flight from Philadelphia (September, 1777) it chose Lancaster, then York, Pennsylvania, for its place of exile. No interest was shown in returning to the Maryland town of high prices and mud.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*



## REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

*Portraits and Miniatures by Charles Willson Peale.* By CHARLES COLEMAN SELLERS. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1952. 369 pp. \$5.

The author of this book, Charles Coleman Sellers, a great-great-grandson of Charles Willson Peale, inherited his ancestor's studio records, manuscript autobiography, diaries, and letter-books, and other manuscript material which has made it possible for him to make a nearly complete listing of the portraits and miniatures by Peale, although there are still a few gaps in the record. By tireless search and research over many years Mr. Sellers has been able to list 1,046 portraits painted by Peale, including 57 of Washington and five of Mrs. Washington. Of the 1,046 known portraits and miniatures he has traced, 451 of these are reproduced in the illustrations.

The story of Peale's long life and his many diversified activities as harness maker, silversmith, watch maker, soldier, painter, and museum proprietor has already been told in an entertaining and scholarly manner by Mr. Sellers in his two Peale biographies which have already appeared: *The Artist of the Revolution: The Early Life of Charles Willson Peale*, published in 1939, and *Charles Willson Peale: Later Life*, published in 1947. It may be added that the latter volume, as does this, appears under the imprint of the American Philosophical Society of Philadelphia, the city where the artist spent the last fifty years of his long life. It is of interest to note that most of the manuscript material upon which these two books are based, as well as the source material for this volume on the paintings, now under review, have recently passed into the possession of this, the oldest American learned society.

The author in this volume lists alphabetically under the names of the subjects, all the known Peale paintings, with brief biographical notes, short descriptions, and critical appraisals of each, together with the date of painting, provenance, and present ownership. These invaluable notes are followed by a chronological listing of the paintings, and in the case where there is no recorded date, by an approximate dating based on stylistic grounds; this chronological listing is especially valuable as it is a year by year record of the places in Pennsylvania, Maryland, and elsewhere, where Peale was painting in a given year. A further listing under present owners shows how very many paintings have passed by descent from a subject to a descendant. These listings reveal how comparatively few of his paintings have been lost or have disappeared from view. It is to be hoped that the

present volume may be the means of bringing some of these lost paintings to light. Of paramount interest is the illustrated section with excellent reproductions of 451 portraits and miniatures; of these 142, nearly a third, are of Marylanders. These paintings are arranged in chronological order and show in a striking way the development of Peale's art over the sixty-four years for which we have examples. This development is discussed in a charming way by the author in his Introduction.

Charles Willson Peale, the Colonial, Revolutionary, and post-Revolutionary portrait painter, who was born in 1741 near Queenstown, Queen Anne's County, on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, made his home in Maryland until he was thirty-five years old, and spent the last fifty years of his active life in Philadelphia; here he died at the age of eighty-five. Apprenticed to a saddler in Annapolis in 1753, at the age of twelve, to serve until he was twenty-one, he successively also tried his versatile hand as saddler, silversmith, and watchmaker, and finally, after early attempts, at the age of twenty-two as a limner, having received his first instruction in painting from John Hesselius, the Annapolis portrait painter, to whom he gave a saddle in exchange for painting lessons.

Marylanders are especially interested in Charles Willson Peale as we have the record of more than 150 miniatures and portraits of them painted by him between 1763 and 1776, and later of about 150 more. It was in the year 1776 that he left Annapolis and went to join Washington's army in Philadelphia, the city which thereafter became his home. It was early in his Annapolis painting career, in the 1760s, that he twice left Maryland. In 1765, in a great hurry, to escape importunate creditors, he made a precipitous sea voyage to Newburyport and to Boston where he visited Copley's "picture room." In 1767, with the financial help of influential Annapolis friends, he went to London, where for two years he studied painting under Benjamin West. It was while in London that Peale, to add to his meagre resources, first took up miniature painting; this he followed with great success until 1786, when in order to help his brother James he gave up painting in-the-small, turning over whenever possible work of this kind to his struggling younger brother.

Peale painted quite actively in Philadelphia in the later seventies, the eighties, and the early nineties, and in these last two decades found time to make several painting expeditions to Annapolis, Baltimore, and the Maryland Eastern Shore. His output in both Maryland and Pennsylvania between 1792 and 1815 was comparatively small, although the financial pressure caused by a growing family and the expenses incident to the building and maintenance of his picture gallery and museum forced him even in old age to take up the brush again and even to make occasional trips to Maryland in his seventies and eighties. Some 150 Marylanders were painted by him during the Revolution and thereafter.

Peale's known portraits painted before his stay in London, although few in number, show the influence of Hesselius, an influence which was entirely lost after his study under West, when he developed a more pleasing, finished, and sophisticated style. The twenty-five years following his



London stay saw Peale perhaps at his best. Attention is drawn by Mr. Sellers to the fact that it was not until after the Revolution that he made a conscious effort to flatter his women subjects, "to gratify the fair," as the painter expressed it; before that emphasis was perhaps more on character and "sensitivity" than on a "pleasing countenance." He painted more children than any other early American artist, and these delightfully, giving them so often a characteristic elfin or sprite-like look. His miniatures, on ivory and generally small, are especially attractive. Subjects were often an engaged couple who, as tokens of affection, exchanged likenesses with each other. It should be noted that most of the numerous likenesses of prominent military figures at Washington's headquarters at Valley Forge and of members of the Continental Congress in Philadelphia, were miniatures, as canvas and painting materials for pictures in-the-large were difficult to obtain. Life portraits of Washington by Peale, painted at various periods of the subject's life, are among the best likenesses of the General; Sellers has traced 57 originals and copies by Peale of them.

Political sympathies played quite a part in the selection of Peale as a painter in both his Revolutionary and Federal periods. Always a liberal, or leftist, in his political views, it was creditors affiliated with the Conservative or Proprietary party in Annapolis who, resentful of young Peale's association with the Sons of Liberty, had made it wise for him to leave Annapolis in such a hurry in 1765, and to take a sea voyage to New England. But there were also powerful leaders in the Proprietary party who did not take these tendencies too seriously, and who were friendly, and helped him to pay off his debts, so as to insure his safe return to Annapolis.

A year or two later, in 1767, a group of prominent Marylanders, principally Annapolitans, made up of men of both political parties, impressed with Peale's artistic talent, and kindly disposed to the lovable young artist, contributed to a purse of 82 guineas to send him to London to study painting. These were Charles Carroll, the Barrister (the largest contributor), John Beale Bordley, Gov. Horatio Sharpe, Daniel Dulany, Robert Lloyd, Benedict Calvert, Thomas Sprigg, Charles Carroll of Carrollton, Benjamin Tasker, Thomas Ringgold, and Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer. The good use to which this money was put has been told.

With the rising Revolutionary tide, public opinion caught up with Peale's political sympathies and we find him, near the opening of the Revolution, painting in Maryland portraits of prominent persons affiliated with the Proprietary Party, such as Governor Robert Eden and his family. But in Philadelphia after the Revolution, Peale's political liberalism and ardent democracy did not ingratiate him with certain prominent families, especially those with former strong Tory sympathies or those who were later very ardent Federalists; the names of few of these appear in the list of his later patrons.

In Maryland, however, political considerations after the Revolution seem to have played little part as affecting Peale's artistic career. He was personally welcome in the homes of the most important and influential

Maryland families, although it must be noted that his attempts to take as his second wife a young lady of the aristocratic and powerful Tilghman clan of the Eastern Shore was unsuccessful and met with a stern rebuke from Major Richard Tilghman of "Grosses," whose sister Molly he unsuccessfully, sought to marry.

When one runs over the list of the subjects of Peale's portraits painted after the Revolution on his various visits to Annapolis, Baltimore, and the Eastern Shore, we have what is virtually a social register of Maryland aristocracy of the period. Without pretending to give the names of more than a very few of such families whose members he painted, we find among them such names as Bordley, Brice, Calvert, Carroll, Chase, Gittings, Goldsborough, Hanson, Howard, Kerr, Lloyd, Nicholson, Paca, Plater, Randall, Rogers, Smallwood, Stone, Swan, Tilghman, and Waggoner, all very prominent in both the political and social life of Maryland.

Charles Willson Peale's relative standing among American painters of the Revolutionary period and the immediate decade which followed, is considered by many qualified critics to be outstanding. It must be remembered, however, that both Copley and West at this time were to be considered as British painters and that Gilbert Stuart was not in America between 1775 and 1792. Both Peale and John Trumbull have ardent advocates in their respective biographers, Sellers for Peale and Theodore Sizer for Trumbull, the former styling Peale as "The Artist of the Revolution" and Sizer calling Trumbull "Artist of the American Revolution." Each author has a basis for his claim. Peale painted from life during the Revolutionary period in Philadelphia, at Valley Forge, and elsewhere, more notables, military and political, than did Trumbull, while the latter in the early nineties, traveling feverishly up and down the coast, painted numerous "heads," drawings and miniatures, of a large number of outstanding Revolutionary characters as well as those of much lesser importance, to be used later in the large historical paintings of Revolutionary events which he painted at the close of the 18th century and the first decades of the 19th. The writer is disposed to favor the claim of "Revolutionary Artist," in the Sellers sense, for Peale.

J. HALL PLEASANTS

*Historic Montgomery County, Maryland, Old Homes and History.* By ROGER BROOKE FARQUHAR. Silver Spring: The Author, 1952. x, 373 pp. \$8.

Roger Brooke Farquhar, like many Marylanders, has been absorbed with the history of his State, and particularly his county, for a lifetime. Unlike most of the others with the same proclivities, Mr. Farquhar has carried his interests to a conclusion. He has written and published a book—*Historic Montgomery County, Maryland, Old Homes and History*. Dedicated to the Montgomery County Historical Society, the book's appearance coincides



with the 175th anniversary of the county's founding. Mr. Farquhar, whose ancestors came to Maryland in 1650, and to Montgomery county 225 years ago, has spent a lifetime in collecting the data and photographs which provided much of the material for the book.

Despite his passion for the history and legends of his ancestral realms, Mr. Farquhar has resisted the temptations (which he probably never had) to write a romanticized version of Montgomery county history. The author has written an objective account, placing the county in its proper context as part (one of the better parts is the impression given) of the whole, Maryland. Mr. Farquhar has let the record speak for itself. The reader, depending upon his degree of interest, can supply the romance in his reaction to the volume.

As a prelude to the stories of 130 old Montgomery county homes, Mr. Farquhar has written a brief history of the county, giving a vivid impression as to the changes wrought in an area once purely agricultural to one now undergoing rapid urbanization. In 1939 the county boasted 1,900 farms. In 1950 there were 1,550 farms. Between 1940 and 1950 there was a population increase from 83,912 to 164,401, a jump of 95.6 per cent. Despite this change, the county today ranks first in the State in the value of farms operated by their owners, and first in the value of livestock sold. The countians are also held to lead the State's 23 counties in the matter of per capita wealth.

The sketches of the old homes (plus nine in Georgetown, once a part of Montgomery county) benefit not only from the meticulous research on the part of the author, but from his lifetime acquaintanceship with the vast majority of the occupants.

Mr. Farquhar tells us his book started to shape up 24 years ago when he entered the real estate business and started writing brief sketches of the old homes as they came to his attention. Some of these stories have taken as long as three years to write as the author proved, and disproved, his facts. Not one to operate by remote control, Mr. Farquhar has visited the site of each home many times and has supplied the book with photographs or drawings of each house.

The book should prove a boon for reference use as well as for engendering an appreciation of his heritage in newcomer and oldtimer alike. It will indeed aid all those countians who wish to obey Governor McKeldin's dictum that they "think and act like Marylanders and not as mere suburbanites of Washington."

And since it is now quite as necessary (we are told) as well as fashionable to have "roots," Mr. Farquhar has supplied some of the means for the county's many newcomers in need of a hasty transplanting. At the same time, the book should aid in changing the diffidence of the long-time Marylander in reference to his past, to an attitude of polite interest, by providing the basis for a realistic evaluation of the past and the importance of preserving the visible remnants of this past now in our midst.

ROBERT G. BREEN

*My Maryland.* By A. AUBREY BODINE; introduction by NEIL H. SWANSON. Baltimore: Camera Magazine, 1952. \$7.50.

Bodine, a photographer of national reputation, has been taking pictures in Maryland for 25 years at the rate of about a thousand a year. Out of his vast collection he has now selected 174 of the best and presented them in the form of a gift book, with end papers showing a cartoon map of the state by Richard Q. Yardley and an introduction by Neil H. Swanson. The work is thus a completely Maryland product, but its artistic quality lifts it above the parochial and makes it a contribution to Americana. Nothing could be a better gift to a friend who lives in some other state, for it is Bodine's genius to observe in the commonplace elements of beauty that escape the inartistic eye. The picturesque quality of the Chesapeake Bay and of the mountain country in Western Maryland are too plain to be missed by anyone; but those who have been accustomed to regard Baltimore city as drably monotonous are in for a surprise, since it shows up in these pages as a glamorous, sometimes—as under a snowfall, or sparkling at night—a fairy-like place. To have employed the precision of the camera to turn dull Baltimore into something like Ilion of the topless towers, or gorgeous Samarkand, or stately Camelot, is magic indeed; but Mr. Bodine has done it.

GERALD W. JOHNSON

*My Dear Brother. A Confederate Chronicle.* Compiled and edited by CATHERINE THOM BARTLETT. Richmond: Dietz Press, 1952. xiii, 224 pp. \$5.

So much has been written about the battles and leaders of the Civil War that the subjects have been well nigh exhausted. A happy departure in recent years is the turn toward the warriors of lesser rank and to the experiences of the civilian population. This has been made possible through the discovery of family letters that for years have been lying hidden in trunks and attics.

Mrs. Bartlett's work falls in this class. The chief source is the correspondence of the family of Col. John Triplett Thom, of Berry Hill, Culpeper county, Virginia. He was a son of Alexander Thom, a Scotsman of the Clan Cameron who supported Charles Edward Stewart in 1745 and fled to this country after the disastrous battle of Culloden. Col. Thom was a man of prominence in public affairs, a cultivated country gentleman in affluent circumstances and a slaveholder.

The Colonel, who was twice married, had four sons and four daughters. They scattered to other parts of Virginia, to the far south and even to California. Most of the letters were written by them or by the children of Reuben Thom, a brother of John Triplett who lived in Fredericksburg. The correspondence begins in the 1830s and reaches a climax during the Civil War. The earlier letters reveal interesting sidelights on life in the



South in the days before the war. It is a simple human record of births, deaths, and marriages and their attendant problems, which is all the more appealing because it is typical of so many other families.

A number of the Thoms served in the Confederate forces. Among these was Dr. J. Pembroke Thom who, after the war, came to Baltimore to live and established the family here. The letters of this period reflect the intense patriotism of the Virginians of the time and their complete confidence in the ultimate success of the Southern cause. It was not until the very close of the war that they came to realize the magnitude of the disaster of which they were the victims.

Mrs. Bartlett has done much more than edit the letters. She describes the people who wrote them and the background against which they are written. In the appendix are several pages of Thom genealogy conveniently placed for reference. Thanks to these provisions she has been most successful in presenting the reader with a clear picture of a somewhat complicated family. Hers is both an appealing story and a valuable contribution to the social history of the ante-bellum south and the Civil War period.

FRANCIS F. BEIRNE

*The Letters of William Gilmore Simms, Volume I, 1830-1844.* Collected and Edited by MARY C. SIMMS OLIPHANT, ALFRED TAYLOR ODELL, T. C. DUNCAN EAVES. Columbia: Univ. of South Carolina Press, 1952. cliii, 456 pp. \$8.50.

Collectors and librarians who garner old letters and scholars who edit them for publication deserve the gratitude of posterity, for they give us source material of unique value. Particularly useful are letters that are newsy rather than essay-like or introspective and that reflect an active, not to say passionate, interest in affairs. Such is the correspondence of William Gilmore Simms (1806-1870) native of Charleston, South Carolina, author of a whole shelf of popular romances and poems, now nearly all out of print, and much miscellaneous and journalistic writing.

Of the 224 letters in Volume I, ten are travel sketches written for publication in the spring of 1831, while their author was making a leisurely journey by stagecoach and steamboat across Georgia and Alabama to Mobile and thence to New Orleans. The majority of the others represent an active correspondence with James Lawson (1799-1880) of New York City, Scotland-born business man and author and for some forty years perhaps the closest friend Simms had outside of his family circle. These letters are full of personal news and literary gossip, and often throw light on South Carolina politics, including the violent controversy in 1833 over Nullification, which Simms opposed to the point of being in danger of mob violence.

After his second marriage in November, 1836, Simms spent his summers

in Charleston and winters at "Woodlands" on the Edisto River, where his father-in-law Nash Roach owned extensive acreage. Thereafter his letters, still primarily devoted to literary matters and politics, include also glimpses of plantation life.

This first volume is competently edited and printed. It justifies the expectation that the future volumes, which will include the years of debate on secession, which Simms defended as resolutely as he had objected to the principle of nullification; and which will presumably deal with the activities of the Russell's Bookshop Group, will be even more interesting.

JOHN C. FRENCH

*The Johns Hopkins University*

*Foreigners in The Union Army and Navy.* By ELLA LONN. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State Univ. Press, [1952]. ix, 725 pp. \$8.50.

*Foreigners in The Union Army and Navy* is the companion volume to *Foreigners in The Confederacy* by the same author.

Unless one has been particularly interested in the foreign-born, he may have failed to recognize the large contribution made during our Civil War by those who had adopted the United States of their free will. On a quantity basis alone the foreign-born were important. Beyond strong backs and willing hearts, they not infrequently brought experience gained in the military schools and battlefields of Europe. In 1861 the United States Army stood in great need of experienced officers to whip a mass of willing volunteers—both native and foreign-born—into dependable army units. Recognition of European experience came quickly and commissions were promptly offered. Whether in the ranks or in command, men of foreign names poured out their blood on fields from Missouri to Virginia.

Perhaps some will be surprised to learn that occasionally women accompanied their men into danger and sometimes, indeed, took their places on the firing line.

Minor mistakes appear such as "Pope's Peninsular campaign of 1862" on page 197 and Hunter's advance "down the Shenandoah Valley" on page 188. On page 275 one finds both A. D. Mann and Dudley A. Mann. More important is the brevity of the index. Spot checking shows names in the text not found in the index: *i.e.*, John Brown and Gabriel Korponay on Pages 339 and 684 respectively. For a book so largely devoted to biography an index of fifteen pages is inadequate.

The author did a prodigious lot of work preparing the thumbnail sketches of her subjects and will make many her debtors. In many notes and references she points to sources in English and several other languages that may be of use to those seeking further study of special favorites. Students of military history will find delight in new lights thrown on old



acquaintances. If anyone feels the need to take up cudgels for the immigrant, here he finds a veritable arsenal at hand. The general reader, too, is debtor to the author for her work in assembling in convenient form and easy compass sketches of so many who risked their lives that "government of the people . . . [should] not perish from the earth."

THEODORE M. WHITFIELD

*Western Maryland College*

*The Railroads of the Confederacy.* By ROBERT C. BLACK III. Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1952. xiv, 360 pp. \$6.

The heroes of this volume are not the traditional generals but the railroads of the Confederacy, or, as the author prefers to designate them collectively, "The Iron Horse."

Every schoolboy knows the story of how General Sherman's "bummers" tore up the railroads on their March to the Sea, how they twisted the rails, rendered red-hot in the fires of the cross-ties, around tree trunks, and how terrific a blow he thereby delivered to the South. It contributes to our clearer understanding to have the importance of the Confederate railroads pointed out. We know how vital a rôle the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad played in the transport of Union soldiers to the western theater after Gettysburg. Our author tells of the swift transfer of Bragg's army in July, 1862, from northwestern Mississippi to Chattanooga by a long detour via Mobile and Atlanta. It looks like trying to figure out the longest distance between two points, but placed 25,000 men where they were needed.

Again, we learn of the sudden movement of Longstreet's Corps of about 12,000 men from Virginia to Bragg's army in the longest, most famous troop movement in Confederate history. About 6,000 arrived to influence the fighting at Chickamauga on September 20, 1863.

The titles to some of the chapters are dramatic and alluring, as "Steam Cars to Glory," "The Iron Horse Stumbles," and "The Treasure Hunt for Iron." This even extends to some of the numerous illustrations, where the picture of a locomotive, abandoned at the evacuation of Atlanta, bears the caption, "A Prisoner of War." The author has furnished some thirteen detail maps to accompany the text. Of particular value is a large, folding map at the rear, which was constantly used by this reviewer.

There is some repetition in regard to costs and railroad tariffs (pp. 39, 218); accidents (pp. 34-35, 91-92, 220-222, 250); and taxes (pp. 92, 131-132, 220).

The conclusions are eminently sound and justified by the study.

ELLA LONN

*American History and American Historians.* By H. HALE BELLOT.  
Norman: Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1952. xii, 336 pp. \$4.

*American History and American Historians* is an unusual and valuable book written by an English scholar who is Professor of American History in the University of London. What Professor Bellot attempts is a brief survey of United States history as it has been interpreted and reinterpreted by American historians during the last sixty years.

Most of these historians, the author believes, belong to what he calls the Middle Western school of Mississippi Valley historians. Distinctively American in its point of view, this group, better known to American students as the Turner or frontier school, succeeded Henry Adams and the late 19th century historians who were largely responsible for the elevation of history to a "science" in this country. The Middle Western school, starting with a hypothesis or premise which they proposed to prove or disprove, represented a reaction to the European or scientific school which had come to dominate the teaching of history in the larger universities of the East, such as Johns Hopkins, Columbia, and Cornell.

After an introductory chapter in which he traces the conflicting points of view of these two schools of historical thought, Professor Bellot devotes the remainder of his book to showing how the writings of the Middle Western school have in particular affected the interpretation of the major events and periods of American history. Detailed, critical bibliographies follow each chapter, and a list of works cited, as well as several sketch maps, are added at the close of the volume.

One criticism, which is perhaps unfair, but which indicates the limits of the book, is that there is little analysis of individual works or of individual historians. A second and more serious criticism is the author's almost complete lack of attention to social and intellectual history and the important works in this field. But these criticisms are not intended to detract from what remains a highly useful volume, which should prove especially valuable to students and teachers. Finally, it should be noted that *American History*, though published in the United States, has been printed in Great Britain to avoid the outrageous costs prevailing in this country.

ARTHUR A. EKIRCH, JR.

*American University*

*Roosevelt and Daniels. A Friendship in Politics.* Edited by CARROLL KILPATRICK. Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1952. xvi, 226 pp. \$3.50.

Here is a distinguished addition to the already long list of Roosevelt books. In it are found most of the letters exchanged between F. D. R. and his "Chief," Josephus Daniels. The actual words written and opinions expressed at given times buttress the Daniels story available in



his multi-volume autobiography and supply more grist to him who will someday write the biography of Roosevelt. Kilpatrick has done a satisfactory, unobtrusive editorial job. The reader has no doubt that the omitted letters are repetitious and unessential. The index is quite brief.

There are several Maryland connotations. Daniels and Roosevelt first met in Baltimore at the 1912 Democratic National Convention. Congressman J. Fred C. Talbott of Maryland proposed "Towson" as a name for a cruiser; Roosevelt confessed to Daniels that he had never heard of the town before. A letter of 1938 refers to the senatorial contest in Maryland.

Of nearly as much interest as the letters themselves are the circumstances involved in their publication. Daniels, who served in the Cleveland, Wilson, and Roosevelt administrations, died in his 80s in 1948. Within the space of eight months his four sons had formally presented, gathered, and sent the Daniels Papers to the Library of Congress.\* The reviewer had the dusty privilege, under able supervision, of opening and examining the five and a half ton shipment. In keeping with Daniels' spirit the bulk of the papers were opened to inspection by scholars four months after receipt. And this book, the first of many to come out of the Daniels Papers, is a suitable tribute to the friendship of the gentleman from North Carolina and his associate from New York.

F. S.

*Let Justice Be Done.* By JAMES MORFIT MULLEN. New York: Dorrance, 1952. vii, 371 pp. \$3.50.

A publisher is said to have once remarked that three kinds of manuscripts submitted to him could be counted on to interest readers; namely, books about doctors, books about dogs, and books about Edgar Allan Poe. One wonders whether a fourth to this extremely diverse trio might not be books about lawyers, for as Arthur Train and others have made clear, the vagaries of the law can make good reading. Mr. Mullen has made a readable book out of the reminiscences of a lifetime of general law practice chiefly in Baltimore. Writing for laymen he contrives to include much incidental information about legal traditions, and in a running personal narrative to portray the local color of the interaction of judges, counselors, and clients. Readers who are familiar with the history of Baltimore for half a century will particularly enjoy his treatment of events and personalities in the Free State as they have known it.

JOHN C. FRENCH

*The Johns Hopkins University*

\* The details together with a keen analysis of the Papers are found in Katharine E. Brand, "The Josephus Daniels Papers," *Library of Congress Quarterly Journal of Current Acquisitions*, 7 (August, 1950), 3-10.

*The Dresses of the First Ladies of the White House.* By MARGARET W. BROWN. Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1952. 149 pp. \$8.25.

Probably one of the most popular exhibits in the United States National Museum is that of dresses of the First Ladies of the White House. The photographic reproductions of the dresses in this attractive little book will give anyone who has not seen the show cases a remarkably good idea of the contents. Those who have been fortunate enough to see them will relive an interesting experience. Each photograph is accompanied by a short biography of the First Lady, that is, whoever acted as White House hostess during each administration. Although the biographies seem somewhat biased in favor of the ladies, they are interesting and informative. Pictures—mostly photographs of the ladies and of paintings of them—and detailed descriptions of the dresses which feminine readers will enjoy, complete the book.

*The Pioneer Jews of Utah.* By LEON L. WATTERS. (Studies in American Jewish History, Number 2). New York: American Jewish Historical Society, 1952. vii, 199 pp. \$2.50.

The first Jewish family to come to Salt Lake City as permanent residents arrived in 1854. With the opening of economic life in the West more followed, but the Jews never formed a very extensive proportion of the population in Utah. Their story, however, is an interesting one and is well told by the son of one of the early Jewish pioneers.

The relationship of the Jews in Salt Lake City to the Mormons was unique in history, for they were regarded as "Gentiles" in the Mormon community. The Mormons believed that they themselves were the true descendants of an ancient Israelite tribe and were reestablishing Zion on the shores of the American Dead Sea. Brigham Young and his followers, however, were friendly towards the Jews and in 1916 helped elect a Jew as governor of the State of Utah.

To write his story, Watters collected data bearing on the subject for some fifty years, examined the files of many libraries, secured personal reminiscences from many of the pioneers while they were alive, and added to the whole his own recollections. From the amount of the personal narrative of pioneers which he includes in his lengthy biographical appendix, this study by Watters forms a documentary source book in addition to being a history.

F. C. H.



*Washington's Official Map of Yorktown.* Washington: National Archives, 1952. 5 pp. \$.75.

The "plan of Attack & Defence" for the battle of Yorktown to which General Washington referred in a dispatch on Oct. 29, 1781, was long thought to have been lost. It has finally been identified as the map now in the possession of the National Archives that was made by Gouvion, Lt. Col. of Engineers, and dated Oct. 29, 1781. A superb duplication of this map with a brief historical statement to accompany it has been prepared and issued as Facsimile No. 21 by the National Archives.

*Washington's Inaugural Address of 1789.* Washington: National Archives, 1952. 14 pp. \$.75.

For No. 22 of its Facsimile series, the National Archives has reproduced the reading copy of the first presidential inauguration address delivered by Washington at Federal Hall in New York City. Several pages of text describe the setting of the event and discuss the question of the speech's authorship. The copy here reproduced is in Washington's handwriting and is now in the Senate Records of the National Archives.

*Historical Editing.* By CLARENCE E. CARTER. (Bulletins of the National Archives, No. 7.) Washington: 1952. 50 pp. \$.20.

One of the most eminent of American editors of historical documents has taken time from his editing to outline for the initiate his principles and practises in historical editing. Dr. Carter analyzes the various steps involved in the publication of documents from the search for material to the make-up of the volume. He discusses many technical problems which arise at each step and adds helpful comments drawn from his own experience and knowledge. Throughout the bulletin he urges the rigorous accuracy which has been characteristic of his own work. Anyone interested in historical editing will enjoy reading Dr. Carter's well-written bulletin.

*A Checklist of South Carolina State Publications.* Columbia: 1952. 19 pp.

The Historical Commission of South Carolina and its energetic director, J. H. Easterby, have published in this pamphlet the first of an annual series of short title checklists of official state publications. Competently done, the checklist is an invaluable, if unspectacular, tool for those interested in the state.

## OTHER BOOKS RECEIVED

- \* *The Colonial Craftsman*. By CARL BRIDENBAUGH. New York Univ. Press, 1950. xii, 214 pp.
- Virginia Wills Before 1799*. By W. M. CLEMENS. Baltimore, 1952. 107 pp.
- \* *American Furniture*. By JOSEPH DOWNS. New York, Macmillan, 1952.
- \* *Early Wedgwood Pottery*. London, 1951. 110 pp.
- \* *Old English Porcelain*. By W. B. HONEY. New York, McGraw-Hill, [1946?]. 292 pp.
- List of Business Manuscripts in Baker Library*. Compiled by ROBERT W. LOVETT. Boston, 1951. v, 213 pp.
- \* *Furnishing the Colonial and Federal House*. By NANCY MCCLELLAND. Philadelphia, Lippincott, [1947]. 173 pp.
- Airfield and Base Development*. Edited by GEORGE A. MEIDLING. (Vol. VI of *Engineers of the Southwest Pacific*.) Washington, 1951. xxii, 559 pp.
- Bits and Pieces of American History*. By IRVING S. OLDS. New York, 1951, xxv, 463 pp.
- The Story of Tobacco in America*. By JOSEPH C. ROBERT. New York, Knopf, 1952. xiii, 296 pp.
- Fine Points of Furniture: Early American*. By ALBERT SACK. New York, Crown Publishers, 1950. xvi, 303 pp.
- Western Pioneering*. By GALEN L. TAIT. [Baltimore, 1952] 58 pp.
- Handbook of American Silver and Pewter Marks*. By C. J. THORN. New York, Tudor Publishing Co., [1949]. xii, 289 pp.
- Slavery and 'The Woman Question.'* By FREDERICK B. TOLLES. Haverford, Pa., Friends' Historical Association, 1952. 86 pp.
- Paintings From America*. By JOHN WALKER. Penguin Books, 1951. 45 pp.
- \* *Practical Book of American Silver*. By EDWARD WENHAM. Philadelphia, Lippincott, [1949]. xvii, 275 pp.



## NOTES AND QUERIES

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### SOME NOTES ON "HUGH JONES, COLONIAL ENIGMA."

Upon reading the Reverend Nelson Rightmyer's note in the September's *Maryland Historical Magazine* (XLVII, 263-264) on the Reverend Herbert Leswing's paper, "Hugh Jones, Colonial Enigma" (which I have read also), I am sending the following note for those admirers of the Hugh Jones of Cecil County who do not have convenient access to the *William and Mary Quarterly*.

The first person to call attention to the puzzling confusion of the three Hugh Joneses was the Reverend R. H. Murphy of Glyndon, Maryland, formerly rector for fourteen years of Christ Church Parish in Calvert County, Maryland. Mr. Murphy discovered the existence of two Hugh Joneses who served that parish, and referred to their respective wills. He rightly concluded that former writers had confused these two Joneses with each other and with a third Hugh Jones, the rector of North Sassafraus Parish in Cecil County Maryland (author of *The Present State of Virginia*). *William and Mary Quarterly*, X (1901-1902), 202-203.

Dr. Grace Warren Landrum, acting on the information furnished by Mr. Murphy, threw further light on the enigma in her article, "Which Hugh Jones?" *William and Mary Quarterly*, 2d Series, XXII (1943), 474-492. The chief purpose of Dean Landrum's article was to establish the identity of the Hugh Jones who wrote *The Present State of Virginia* and taught at the College of William and Mary with the Hugh Jones of Cecil County, Maryland, and to separate the Hugh Joneses of Maryland. Though she found no definitive solution to the problem and though erring in some details, she gave very convincing circumstantial evidence of a solution to the problem.

Hugh Jones has long been a subject of much interest to me. I have now completed my manuscript for a new edition of his *The Present State of Virginia* with an introduction giving an account of its author's life. As a by-product of this study I published "The Reverend Hugh Jones, Lord Baltimore's Mathematician" in the *William and Mary Quarterly* of January, 1950 (3rd Series, VII, 107-115).

In this work I found the missing link needed to prove definitely that the Hugh Jones who was the distinguished rector of Cecil County, Maryland, was the same Hugh Jones who had taught at the College of William and Mary and had written *The Present State of Virginia*. This information is given in a deposition made by Hugh Jones in the suit between the proprietaries of Maryland and Pennsylvania over the boundary. A copy of

that part of the lawyer's brieve of Jones's statement about himself is given in my article mentioned above, which Mr. Leswing cites in his manuscript.

Since the publication of that article I have found a manuscript copy of Jones's deposition itself in the collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Although the brief is fairly complete, there is a satisfaction in having the deposition just as Jones made it. It is here published with the consent of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

"Hugh Jones of Cecil County Clerk aged forty nine years or thereabouts, one of the Com'ts in the comicon hereto . . . named, being sworn and Examined as a Witness on the part and behalf of the Defendent. . . . Saith that he has been acquainted with the Defendent about Seven Years but knows not any of the Complainants . . . that he has been Conversant in the Mathematicks and Esteems himself in some Measure Skilled in them that he Learnt Arithmetick at School, Studied Geometry Geography and Astronomy in the University of Oxford, where having taken the Degrees of Batchellor and Master of Arts, at Jesus Colledge, he was recommended by then principle of the said Colledge, Doctor Win Bishop of St. Asaph, to Doctor Robinson, the then Bishop of London, who advised the Deponent to perfect himself, as well as time would allow, in the Mathematicks for that his Lordship Intended to Send him over to the Colledge of William and Mary in Virginia, as professor of the Mathematicks, Application having been made to him, as Chancellor of the said Colledge, by the Visitors of it. That, thereupon, the Deponent Applied himself to the Study of Algebra (which he had not applied himself to before) under the Instrucion of Mr. Hudson of Christ Church, and was Admitted Professor of Mathematicks in the Colledge of William and Mary aforesaid, in the Year Seventeen Hundred and Seventeen and Continued Studying and teaching the Mathematicks there til the Year Seventeen Hundred and Twenty-One, and has made it his occasional Study ever since. . . . That he has been, often, in Ten of the Twelve Counties under the Government of Maryland, and knows several Places in Each of them, and has known the same about twenty Years: fourteen of which he has resided in Maryland. That he has known the County of Newcastle about eight Years, but is Unacquainted with Kent upon Delaware and Sussex. That, for upwards of Eight Years Last past, he has been Minister of a Parish, Contiguous to Newcastle County, and has had frequent Occasion to go to Newcastle." This deposition, "taken in the conference room" at Annapolis is in a manuscript volume, *Penn v. Baltimore*, Depositions, Annapolis, 1740, 1-16 (Lib. fol. 4., Int. 7, fol. 5).

RICHARD L. MORTON,  
College of William and Mary,  
Williamsburg, Va.

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*Baltimore Clippers*—A little more light on how Baltimore shipbuilders in the past supplied shipowners in the West Indies with fast vessels was shed by an old document recently uncovered. It is a bill of sale for the schooner *Infant Patriot* dated at Baltimore on September 13, 1794. It conveys from William Price, shipbuilder, of "Baltimore Town Ship," whose yard was at 13 and 14 Pitt Street, Fells Point, to Peirre Santel of St. Domingo, Merchant, the pilot schooner, *Infant Patriot*, forty feet, three inches "straight Rabbet" (length of keel), sixteen feet beam and six feet, five inches "hold" (depth of hold inside), measuring about forty three tons and forty seven ninety fifths of a ton, "together with her masts and spars as she now lays in the Port of Baltimore." The price named in the document is 375 pounds "current money of Maryland."

The *Infant Patriot* is described as a new schooner, and therefore the term "pilot schooner" does not imply that she was actually built for pilot service. The fast schooners built at Baltimore and elsewhere on the Chesapeake were first termed Virginia-built or pilot-built and were not designated Baltimore Clippers until the War of 1812. There were no Virginia or Maryland pilots' associations in those days. There were a large number of independent pilots, and the first to reach an inbound vessel got the job. Speed and weatherliness were prime requisites, and it was for those qualities that the Baltimore shipwrights strove. So successful were they in attaining their objectives, that large numbers of their vessels were sold to the West Indies for trading, slaving, and even piracy. The British Navy was equally aware of these qualities and took over most of those captured in the wars as fast dispatch vessels. So many of them had shown the British men-of-war a clean pair of heels that they claimed the reluctant admiration of our erstwhile enemies. The famous Baltimore privateer, Captain Boyle, used to tease and infuriate the British cruisers by allowing them to get just within gunshot, then running away from them, and repeat the performance until tired of the sport.

WILLIAM CALVERT STEUART,  
Baltimore.

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*Randolph*—The attention of our readers is called to an article by Russell Kirk, "Randolph of Roanoke and the Mind of the South," which appears in the September, 1952, issue of the British publication *History Today*, pp. 632-640. In this article Kirk extends the thesis of his book *Randolph of Roanoke* (reviewed *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XLVII [1952], 157-158) that Randolph was the Edmund Burke of America and he makes some general observations on the role of conservative polity in the South.

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*Artist-travellers in South America*—Am gathering documentation for a complete bibliography on this subject. Request information concerning letters or documents by or about artist-travellers as well as original drawings, paintings, and prints done in South America.

DAVID JAMES,  
Brown University, Providence 12, R. I.

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*Rogers*—Wish to know where in Baltimore Joseph Rogers or Rodgers and his wife Mary Ann Sturgeon are interred. They came from Newcastle, Del., to Baltimore about 1820.

W. J. STURGIS,  
370 Park Ave., New York City.

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*Autobiography of Samuel Smith*—Where is the original of Smith's autobiography or a copy of it? Part of this document was published in *The Historical Magazine*, edited by H. B. Dawson, issues of February and April, 1870. Any information concerning this document will be appreciated by the editors.

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*Smith, Samuel*—Mr. Pancake and the editors wish to acknowledge assistance granted to him by the University Research Committee of the University of Alabama in the preparation of his article, "Baltimore and the Embargo" (Sept., 1952, pp. 173-187).

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*Talbot, Sir Wm. (Nephew of 2d Lord Baltimore)*—Any information concerning his immediate ancestors and descendants will be appreciated by

Col. ROBERT H. FLETCHER,  
1921 24th St., N. W., Washington 8, D. C.

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*Trego Family*—Am trying to find names of parents of James Trego (b. 1780?) in Pa. Wife's name, Lilly. They moved to Ross Co., Ohio, about 1800, where he bought land. Had 5 chn. by 1st wife: Nancy Catherine, Martha Ann, Mary Jane, Hosea, and one name unknown. After



the death of wife Lilly, he married Rebecca Ralston, 1825, and they had chn. James, Samuel and Andrew. James Trego died in 1830. It is thought he came to Ohio from Lancaster Co., Pa.

Does anyone know where the unpublished MS of a second book (first vol. publ. 1884) on Trego family by Dr. A. Trego Shertzer may be?

MILDRED CHAMBERS,  
4122 Eleventh Ave., Los Angeles 8, Calif.

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*Wiesenthal*—The Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland (1212 Cathedral Street, Baltimore 1) would appreciate information on direct descendents of Dr. Charles Frederick Wiesenthal (1726-1789) who immigrated in or before 1755 and became one of the first outstanding physicians in Baltimore.

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*Back Issues*—The Society always welcomes the return of any and all back issues of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* that members may not wish to retain.

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### CONTRIBUTORS

MISS RICH, a Baltimorean and author of two volumes of poems, was graduated from Radcliffe College and is now studying at Oxford University. ☆ For some years Associate Editor of the *William and Mary Quarterly*, MRS. LATIMER is now Assistant Editor, Engineering Experiment Station, University of Illinois. ☆ A previous contributor, MR. CARROLL is now teaching at Southern Methodist University. ☆ MRS. MISH is a former president of the Washington County Historical Society and an assiduous student of Western Maryland history.

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